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Dissertation

ACCULTURATION IN THE SWEDISH LUTHERAN CONGREGATIONS OF THE BOSTON AREA: 1867-1930

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. The Problem of the Dissertation

The problem of this dissertation is to determine the degree of acculturation which occurred in the Swedish Lutheran congregations of the Boston area between 1867 and 1930. These congregations were made up almost solely of immigrants from Sweden. Examination will be made of the impact of forces of acculturation upon these congregations --how and what aspects of their heritage these congregations successfully preserved; what they were forced to surrender; and, finally, the new characteristics they acquired from the dominant, surrounding, Anglo-American society during this period.

2. Importance of the Study

This study is important in that this group of people has never been studied from the viewpoint of their congregational life. Two dissertations have been written on the Americanization of the Augustana Synod (the national body to which these Boston congregations belonged).[1]

[1]Oscar A. Benson, "Problems in the Accommodation of the Swede to American Culture" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburg, 1933); Gene J. Lund, "The

These studies were of a more general nature. The basic historical sources were conference[1] and Augustana Synod minutes. Little attention was given to the congregational records and none used in this dissertation have been examined before.

This study is of further importance in that the members of the Boston area churches came out of significantly different historical circumstances than did the earlier immigrants whose influence was dominant in the larger body, the Augustana Synod.

The strength of the Augustana Synod lay in midwestern United States, especially in Minnesota and Illinois. The Swedes who went to these and other states were among the first settlers in those regions. They were also among the earliest of the nineteenth century Swedish immigrants. Rural in outlook, they did not change when they came to America. The large majority continued as farmers.

The Boston Swedes, unlike the earlier ones of the same nationality and church body, did not come to an

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Americanization of the Augustana Lutheran Church" (unpublished Th.D. dissertation, Dept. of Church History, Princeton University, 1954).

[1]The conferences were the major divisions into which the Augustana Synod was divided. At the end of its existence in 1962, the Synod comprised thirteen such regional divisions.

unsettled region but to a metropolitan center. Boston had been in existence over two hundred years before the establishment of the first Swedish Lutheran congregation in the vicinity. The bulk of these Boston Swedes also came about two or three decades later than did their midwestern fellow countrymen. Finally, these Lutherans around Boston had been shaped in their outlook by the growing urbanization and industrialization of Sweden so that they came to America with a different set of skills and ambitions. They had no intention of becoming farmers. They rather sought jobs in the industrial centers of cities like Boston, Brockton, Lowell, and Lynn. The differences between the Augustana Lutherans of the Boston area and those of the midwest are great enough to merit a study of the acculturation of the former group. The presence or absence of conflict between the two groups and the influence of acculturation by the older and larger group upon the Boston area congregations have been noted.

This study is of further importance as an examination of heretofore accepted generalizations about the Augustana Synod. It has been assumed that Augustana as a whole was a pietistic group with strong feelings against the state church of Sweden from whence great numbers of the members of Augustana congregations came before World War I. This dissertation shows such a broad assumption is

wrong. The Boston area Lutherans, as well as the members of the other New England congregations of the Augustana Synod, were not of pietistic leanings and were actually friendly to the Lutheran church in Sweden with its episcopal polity.

Again, it has been assumed that the Boston area Lutherans, as well as those of the rest of New England, were more slowly acculturated than the rest of the Synod. It is true that the Boston area congregations were among the very last to abandon the use of Swedish. What has often been overlooked, however, is that they were also the last of the Synod members to come to America. When this fact is taken into account, this dissertation shows the rate of acculturation was at least as rapid for these congregations of the East as for the rest of the Synod.

This is to conclude that although different groups of people may come from the same historical, geographic, and ethnic backgrounds, other conditions such as differences in time of emigration and changed economic, social, political, and religious conditions necessitate separate studies of these different immigrant groups in relation to the process of acculturation. What may be true of one group is not necessarily valid for another. Each must be considered within the context of its own historical situation. Therefore, assumptions made regarding one group do

not necessarily hold for the other as will be demonstrated in this study.

One final note as to the importance of this study: the Augustana Synod ceased its corporate existence on December 31, 1962. Together with other Lutheran churches of Danish, Finnish, and German background, it became a part of the Lutheran Church in America. As time goes on, the orientation of the Augustana congregations will be more and more toward this new relationship and away from their ethnic origin. Therefore, the present is a propitious time to make a study such as this.

3. Definitions

"Acculturation" is

> the process whereby individuals or groups once dissimilar become similar; that is, become identified in their interests and outlook. It is a "process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and by sharing their experiences and history, are incorporated with them in a cultural life."[1]

Emory Bogardus defines acculturation as the adoption by one group of "some or most of the cultural patterns of another group."[2] This latter definition has an advantage

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[1] William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, Sociology (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1940), p. 383.

[2] Sociology (New York: MacMillan Co., 1954), p. 32.

in that it more specifically recognizes the retention by the newer groups in a society of certain "memories, sentiments, and attitudes" from their own background. This study has noted not only what these immigrants abandoned and acquired as a result of the conflict of cultural forces, but also what they preserved.

"Augustana Lutheran Synod" was founded in 1860 by Swedish Lutheran immigrants. This organization has been partially described in previous paragraphs. Further information concerning it will be given later on in this dissertation. This study is confined to a study of Augustana congregations in the Boston area.

"Boston area" refers to the eastern portion of Massachusetts bounded on the west by a line running south from Lowell to Natick and thence southeast and east to include North Easton and Brockton. The term "Boston area" has been employed rather than "Boston District" although some of the sources to be used will carry this latter designation.

"Boston District" was a regional term applying to a group of churches in the states of New Hampshire, Maine, and eastern Massachusetts. "Boston area" designates a smaller area but includes most of the congregations of the Boston District. Of the twenty-five churches included in the Boston District in the period under study, four were

in Maine and two were in New Hampshire. These six have been excluded from this study because of their distance from Boston geographically and hence, the influence of a great American city upon these non-English speaking immigrant groups has been less. Of the nineteen which remain, there seem to be no available records for one. Thus eighteen congregations have been studied.

The year 1867 has been determined as the terminus a quo by the organization of the first of these congregations in that year. The year 1930 has been selected as the terminus ad quem for two reasons. First, between the years 1924 and 1942, the Augustana Lutheran Synod organized no new congregations in the Boston area. When, in 1942, a congregation was begun in North Quincy, a ministry to Swedish immigrants or to Swedish-speaking people was not considered to be an important aspect of its responsibility. The church rather looked upon its mission in North Quincy as one to an American community. On the other hand, the congregations organized between 1867 and 1924 considered the ministry to Swedish immigrants as their raison d'être.

Secondly, by choosing 1930 rather than 1924 (when the last of the congregations included in this study was organized) a lapse of time was allowed after the formation of this last church. This gave opportunity to study the

acculturation of this group as well as that of the older congregations.

4. Previous Research in the Field

In 1950, the late O. N. Olson, Augustana archivist, published his work, The Augustana Lutheran Church in America: 1846-1860. Six years later, this book was followed by a second volume under the same title covering the years of the Synod's history from 1860 to 1910. In 1963, G. Everett Arden, professor of church history at the Augustana Theological Seminary (now called Lutheran School of Theology, Rock Island campus) published his book, Augustana Heritage.

The earliest history of the Augustana Synod was written in two volumes by Eric Norelius under the title: De svenska lutherska församlingarnas och svenskarnes historia i Amerika (The History of the Swedish Lutheran Congregations and Swedes in America). This was published in 1916.

Two dissertations have been written on the acculturation of Swedes by scholars within the Augustana Lutheran Church. In 1933, Oscar A. Benson wrote a Ph.D. thesis entitled: "Problems in the Accommodation of the Swede to American Culture."[1] In 1954, Gene J. Lund

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[1] Supra, p. 1, footnote.

completed a Th.D. dissertation entitled: "The Americanization of the Augustana Lutheran Church."[1] Benson's work was a general treatment of Swedes both within and without the Augustana Lutheran Synod. While documents relating to the church at large were employed, hardly any use was made of congregational records.

Lund's dissertation dealt with the Augustana Lutheran Synod as a whole; generalizations and conclusions as well as sources employed were governed by this perspective.

On the fiftieth anniversary of the New England Conference of which the Boston congregations were a part, a history of the New England Conference (a part of the New England Synod of the Lutheran Church in America as of January 1st, 1963) was published in 1962 under the editorship of Luther E. Lindberg, pastor of the Immanuel Lutheran Church, Attleboro, Massachusetts. It is entitled Fifty Years in New England. The book is a collection of sketches one page in length for each of 140 congregations (including fifty-two of non-Swedish background) which are now included in the New England Synod.

None of these works cited above have employed congregational records as has been done in this study.

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[1] Ibid.

Furthermore, this particular geographic area in relation to the congregations covered by this dissertation has been heretofore studied only in the most cursory manner. For example, Arden does not even mention New England in the index of his book. Finally, this dissertation has been the first thorough investigation of primary sources in these congregations.

5. The Sources and Method of Research

Sources utilized have included general studies on immigration. United States Bureau of Census records have been examined to procure the figures for immigration from Sweden for the decades between 1867 and 1930. Related to this was a study of immigration legislation passed in the latter part of this period.

General histories of the Augustana Lutheran Synod to which these eighteen congregations belonged were a source of general information as well as similar works on the Lutheran Church in America and in Sweden.

The basic resource for facts has been the primary documents of the congregations. These included minutes of congregational meetings, minutes of boards of administration, boards of trustees, and church council meetings, and auxiliary meetings. Wherever available, histories of the congregations, sermons, and letters of pastors and laymen,

orders of worship, program bulletins, and newspapers have been employed. This material has been obtained from the pastors and other officials of the congregations. These persons have shown the most friendly cooperation even to the extent of allowing the writer to bring these materials to his home in order to allow him ample time for the study of these documents and to spare him the inconvenience of much weary travel to and from the various churches.

A supplement to this study has been the interview method. Two members from each congregation, preferably related to each other as father and son, but always in a parent-child relationship, were asked a series of questions related to the process of acculturation. In each instance, the parent came from Sweden and the child was a native born American.

In every instance, names of the persons to be interviewed were obtained from the pastor of the congregation. Instructions were given that the respondents be selected on the basis of reliability and clear faculties. Interviews were completed in all but one of the eighteen congregations.

With the advice of Dr. Herbert Stotts, professor of Church and Community at Boston University, and with the guidance of Gerhard Lenski's work, The Religious Factor, the questionnaire for the interviews was designed. Of the

parent, the following information was requested: how regular was his church attendance in Sweden; when did he come to America and to Boston and had he made any moves in Sweden previous to his departure for America; how old was he when he came to America; what was his marital status at the time he came to America; to what nationality and church did his spouse belong and in what denomination were the children raised. From the child, information was asked regarding his occupation. From both parent and child were asked: whether they spoke and used the Swedish language; in what capacities they had served in their church here; an estimate of the strength of their religious faith by comparison with their immediate ancestors (father and mother); the frequency of church attendance at the present and by comparison with ten or fifteen years ago; and how often they had moved and how far each move placed them from the church they attended.

Of the seventeen parent-child units interviewed, seven were related as father and son, five as mother and daughter, three as father and daughter, and two as mother and son. Of the parents, six had come directly from farms to America; eight had moved from farms to a town or city before emigrating; and three had been born in a Swedish town. Upon coming to America, only one took up the occupation of farming. Among the other sixteen, five entered

some construction related occupation (carpentry, masonry, painting, and sheet-metal work); two were machinists; and one was a government worker.

The children represented a greater diversity of occupational interest. Four are housewives; four are accountants; two are foremen; two are associated with the building trade (carpenter and painter). There is one in each of the following occupations: insurance, factory (worker), teaching, and tool and die making. One is a waitress.

This part of the procedure was of limited value for two reasons: first, since the closing date of the period under study is over thirty years ago and since so many of these immigrants came in the latter part of the nineteenth and the first part of the twentieth centuries, there were very few of these surviving. Among the survivors, not all were capable of giving a reliable account of their experiences and reactions. The second reason was that the number of second generation respondents was limited and for the same cause. Also, in some instances, this latter group had been born so near the year 1930 that the forces of acculturation may have been of a radically different character because of a basically post-1930 existence when these forces may have been changed significantly. It may have been better to have chosen people

born soon after their parents arrived here and without regard to whether their parents were still alive at the time of this survey.

Nevertheless, this method did supply some important facts not available through the primary documents of the congregations. Beside this group of people, conversations were held with two pastors (one of whom has since died, Pastor A. Theodore Hjerpe) who were active in these congregations during some of the years under study. There was the same scarcity of available respondents among the pastors of that era.

Minutes of the former New York Conference (now a part of the New York Synod of the Lutheran Church in America) from 1870[1] to 1912 to which these congregations which were then in existence belonged have been studied thoroughly.

In 1912, these congregations became part of the then newly organized New England Conference which was formed out of the northern part of the New York Conference. The minutes of this body from 1912 to 1930 were carefully examined.

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[1]One congregation, Bethesda (now First) Lutheran Church of Brockton was organized in 1867, three years before the organization of the New York Conference in 1870.

The minutes of these two conferences proved to be extremely valuable. They covered the lives of the congregations in the six New England states on the general level of their conference relationships. The facts and events herein recorded often gave a more comprehensive portrayal of these congregations and helped clarify evidence which was not complete in the local congregational minutes.

CHAPTER II

NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURY SWEDISH EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

The great number of Swedes who left their native land between 1820 and 1930 was a part of the phenomenal European emigration to the United States. Of the thirty-seven and one-quarter million people who left Europe during that time, thirty-two and one-quarter million came to the United States.[1]

1. A Period of Large Swedish Emigration

The significance of such population movement must be seen not only in the numbers who came to the United States, but also in the relation of the numbers who left a given country to its total population. Two and one-half million people left Scandinavia (Sweden, Norway, and Denmark) between 1820 and 1924. The population of these countries in 1910-1911 was ten and two-thirds million. This ratio of emigration to population is large.[2] "If

[1] Eugene Kulischer, "Migration," Encyclopedia Britannica, XV (1957), 467.

[2] Walter F. Willcox (ed.), International Migrations, Vol. I: Statistics (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 1929), p. 131.

Ireland is left out of consideration, there is hardly any country in Europe where the migration of the population in and out across the frontiers through a long period of time has been so large relative to population as in the two countries on the Scandinavian peninsula."[1]

Of the emigrants from Scandinavia, the greatest number was from Sweden. About one and one-eighth million or nearly fifty-two per cent came from this, the largest of the Scandinavian countries.

Florence Janson in her study of the relation of emigration to population shows that from 1749 to 1930, Sweden lost one and one-seventh million people.[2] During

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[1]Adolph Jensen, "Migration Statistics of Denmark, Norway and Sweden," International Migrations, Vol. II: Interpretations, ed. Walter F. Willcox (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 1931), pp. 286-87.

[2]Although she covers a longer period of time and includes the time span covered by the study of which Willcox is the editor, Janson shows a lower figure of emigration. This is due to discrepancies between American and Swedish sources. Willcox has the same problem. For example, when he cites from the United States Bureau of Immigration, the number of Swedes who came to America in 1895 is given as 15,361 (Willcox, Statistics, p. 430). The Swedish source which he uses gives the figure of 14,989 for the same year. Janson notes that for the fifties of the nineteenth century, Sweden's figures for emigration should be increased by about two-thirds, for the sixties by twenty per cent, and for the latter part of the century by about ten per cent. The discrepancy lies partly in a difference of definition of the terms "emigrant" and "immigrant" and partly in the fact that some emigrated without permission in order to escape military service and were thus lost track of by the Swedish government.

this period, Swedish population increased from one and three-quarters to six and one-eighth million. But during the same time, Sweden lost many of her people through heavy emigration. Janson notes the proportion between population growth and loss through exodus: "It [Sweden] had more than trebled in population from 1749 to 1930 but had lost almost one-fifth of its population through exodus."[1] Emigration of agricultural workers was especially heavy during the middle of the nineteenth century. According to figures cited,[2] over one-third of the total emigration was from this class.

2. Conditions Conducive to Emigration

i. Political Conditions

Sweden has had a long tradition in political and personal freedom. This is based on a profound respect for law which may in part be due to catechetical training which was compulsory for all Swedes as late as a hundred years ago.[3] "The catechism stressed respect for God,

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[1]Florence E. Janson, The Background of Swedish Immigration: 1840-1930 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 2.

[2]Ibid., p. 501.

[3]Ingvar Andersson, A History of Sweden, trans. Carolyn Hannay (New York: Praeger, 1957), pp. xix-xxiii.

church, government, and superiors, and posited as one of the highest obligations obedience for law and order, a principle of conduct the emigrant carried with him to America."[1] Sweden with its written constitution of 1809 has the oldest such document in Europe.[2]

Self-government began early in Swedish history. As early as the eleventh century, the Swede was making his own laws on a local basis. Through an assembly known as the "ting," the freemen (i.e., those who were allowed to bear arms), which included the peasants, would formulate laws under the direction of a "lagman" (lawman). These laws were drawn up as conditions demanded.

Eventually, the exercise of self-government came to be practiced beyond the local level. In the thirteenth century, the "riksdag" (Parliament) was established to govern the whole of Sweden. It was made up of four estates, one each of clergy, nobles, townsmen, and peasants. This long practice of self-rule prevented the kings of Sweden from holding absolute power for any length of time.[3]

In the nineteenth century, rapid change in the political, social, and economic areas of life made the older

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[1]George Stephenson, The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1932), p. 2.

[2]Andersson, p. 311. [3]Ibid., pp. 32-53.

forms of freedom obsolete and inadequate. While the Swedish populace was not under severe political oppression, changing conditions were creating certain injustices and inequities in economic, social, and political life. The lure of the land of freedom called America that lay to the west further encouraged emigration.

It is ironical, however, that just at the time emigration from Sweden was on the rise, legislation was being passed to broaden the liberties of the Swedish people. Between 1842 and 1865, laws were enacted which established popular education at public expense,[1] effected penal reform,[2] enlarged opportunities for employment by abolishing the ancient guilds,[3] gave greater freedom and equality to women,[4] inaugurated a free trade policy,[5] removed some of the religious restrictions against non-Lutherans,[6] and replaced the four-Estate Riksdag of many centuries' existence with a two-chamber legislative body.[7]

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[1]Andrew A. Stomberg, A History of Sweden (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), p. 642.

[2]Ibid., p. 645.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., pp. 654-55.

[5]Ibid., pp. 671-72.

[6]Stephenson, p. 143.

[7]Carl Grimberg, A History of Sweden, trans. C. W. Foss (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1935), pp. 344-45.

This, however, did not stem the tide of emigration which between 1820 and 1930 was to bring over a million Swedes to the United States.[1] On the contrary, at least three of these reforms contributed to the exodus. The establishment of the public education system increased the rate of literacy. Much information about the United States was sent to Sweden. Various states, the railroad and steamship companies, immigration guide books, and, most important of all, letters from fellow-countrymen who had already emigrated gave glowing reports. All of these media were eagerly read by the Swedes.[2]

One example of such enticement comes from the pen of the Swedish novelist and champion for women's rights in Sweden, Fredrika Bremer. She traveled in the United States in the late forties and early fifties. She wrote:

> This Minnesota is a wonderful land and just the right kind of country for Nordic emigrants, truly a land for a new Scandinavia. It is four times as large as England; it has rich soil, large stretches of forest lands, many rivers and lakes rich with fish, and a fresh invigorating climate.[3]

Letters such as this were to become an important force in the creation and development of a widespread and intensive desire known as "American fever."

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[1]U. S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1961, 82nd ed., p. 91.

[2]Andersson, pp. 360-61. [3]Janson, p. 143.

The second reform did not produce the expected results. In its early years, the free trade policy did stimulate industry, but by the eighties, this had turned to the disadvantage of Sweden. Cheap grain from America and Russia greatly depressed farm prices so that even the liberals who had espoused free trade now became protectionists. Industrialists and farmers alike demanded restrictions on foreign imports. Many, restive under the adverse economic climate, became emigrants.[1]

The third legislative reform--the granting of greater religious liberty--also encouraged emigration. A period of religious persecution came to an end in 1859 with the abolition of the hated Conventicle Act of 1726. This measure had prohibited the private assembly of people for religious services except on a very restricted basis. But the non-Lutherans were far from satisfied. They had tasted a little freedom. Now they wanted more. Nor were they to be blamed. There still existed aggravating and humiliating forms of discrimination. While free churches were now allowed to organize their own congregations, they were still under the requirement to make reports to the parish priest. Also, compulsory membership in the Lutheran church in Sweden was demanded until one had reached the age of eighteen.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 276-78.

Furthermore, all Swedish citizens had to contribute by taxation to the support of the established church. Finally, they had to employ the Lutheran form of service in such instances as burials.[1]

Another political condition not related to this reform legislation but which was conducive to the restlessness of the times was military training. This training had become compulsory. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, this system had operated in Sweden. With the rising power of Prussia, dramatized in its victories over Austria in 1866 and France in 1871, Sweden considered it necessary to strengthen her army organization. This included the extension of compulsory military training. Janson argues that this became a factor in emigration. Whereas in 1866, only 4.26 per cent of the emigrants were men of twenty, by 1909, after the enactment of a series of compulsory military laws, this group of emigrants comprised 16.61 per cent of the total.[2]

According to available records, between 1886 and 1890, of those who left Sweden for America, 51,051 were agricultural; 26,383 were mainly laborers from the industrial, commercial and transportation classes, 53,143 were listed as domestic servants; and 34,655 were unclassified.

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[1]Stephenson, p. 143. [2]Janson, p. 19.

Between 1911 and 1915[1] from each of these classes respectively, the figures were 5,310; 6,242; 1,725; and 2,666. Between 1921 and 1925, they were 4,431; 6,190; 1,276; and 2,093.[2]

The long tradition of personal and political freedom under law and the similar one of self-government remained a powerful force which sent many Swedes to the United States. Those who came left their homeland because they believed in the United States they could enjoy those greater liberties which they considered to be their right.

ii. Social Conditions

Adolph Jensen argues that the desire for social advancement was more conducive to emigration from Sweden than extreme poverty. He uses Norway as an example but applies the same conclusion to Sweden and Denmark. From 1905 to 1925, eighty per cent of Norwegian emigrants

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[1]No records were available from the sources at my disposal before 1886, between 1891 and 1910, 1916 and 1920, and after 1925. A comparison between these figures and the emigration figures also shows a wide discrepancy. This is due in part to the failure of many Swedes to register. See footnote, p. 17.

[2]Gustav Sundbärg, "Den svenska och europeiska folkökning och omflyttningsstatistiken," Emigrationsutredningens, bilage IV (Statistics of the Swedish and European Population Increase and Change, Analysis of Emigration, Appendix IV) (Stockholm, 1910), p. 236, table 96; statistik årsbok för Sverige (Yearbook of Statistics for Sweden) (Stockholm, 1927), p. 74, table 62, quoted in Janson, p. 440.

assigned as the reason for their departure from the homeland a "lack of access to profitable occupation." Jensen argues that the five peak periods of emigration from Scandinavia (1866-1873, 1879-1883, 1887-1893, 1900-1907, and 1909-1913)[1] coincide more exactly with periods of good business conditions in the United States than with periods of economic depression in Scandinavia. "It is scarcely reasonable to assume that actual distress drove many abroad."[2] Jensen associates a social meaning with the phrase "profitable occupation."

Jensen probably argues too strongly on this ground. A more complete picture of conditions would suggest that the combination of bad economic conditions in Sweden and the relatively more favorable situation in the newer land to the west both supplied motivation to emigrate.

Oscar Handlin observes that the land-holdings among the bönder (land-owning farmers) in Sweden had been divided and redivided into smaller and smaller plots of land. By the nineteenth century, these farms had been reduced to a size which made it no longer feasible to divide further. Hence, as estates came to be settled, some of

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[1]A study of the statistics of emigration according to Willcox, I, 383-88 agrees with Jensen's identification of this series of years as peak periods not only for Scandinavia as a whole, but for Sweden as well.

[2]Willcox, II, 293.

the heirs would be left without land. Those who received none "could either consent to a reduction in status by becoming day-laborers, or, unhampered by servile obligations, seek fresh opportunities elsewhere."[1]

A very irritating instance of inequality in status was the attitude of many of the clergy. Stephenson goes so far as to say that "as Sweden is the most aristocratic of the Scandinavian countries, so are her clergy the most hierarchical."[2] To many of the early emigrants, the clergy seemed aloof. "The state church clergy, supported as they were by taxes, were freely criticized as being . . . too remote from the common people."[3]

The governor of Älvsborg province was one of several such officers in Sweden who spoke of this superior attitude on the part of the clergy as an annoyance to the lower classes, the nobles, the government officials, and especially the clergy of the state church."[4]

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[1] Boston's Immigrants (rev. ed.; Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 33.

[2] A History of American Immigration, p. 37.

[3] Adolph B. Benson and Naboth Hedin, Americans from Sweden, ed. by Louis Adamic ("The Peoples of America Series"; New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1950), p. 179.

[4] K. bfhde femårsberättelse, Elfsborgs län (Governor's Five-Year Report, Älvsborg County): 1875-1880, p. 2, quoted in Janson, p. 2.

Colonel Hans Mattson, emigrant from Sweden who rose to the position of Secretary of State in Minnesota, wrote:

> Much has been said about the causes of emigration. These are numerous, but the chief cause I have found to be that people of the Old World are now being aroused to the fact that the social conditions of Europe, with its aristocracy and other privileges, are not founded on just principles, but that the way of success ought to be equally open for all, and determined, not by privileges of birth, but by the inherent worth of man.[1]

In commenting upon Mattson's observation, John S. Lindberg wrote: "Popular dissatisfaction found expression in such catchwords as 'In America there is [sic] no king and no petty pastors.'"[2]

The clergyman enjoyed a superior position in residence, political power, and fellowship with the nobility of Swedish society. The peasant could see the comparative splendor of the pastor's estate with the place in which he lived. In comparing this with America's standard of equality, Peter Cassel in 1846 wrote in a letter to friends in Sweden that in America "there are no counts, barons and lords [herrar, translated "lords" was the title by which

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[1] Reminiscences (St. Paul, 1892), p. 296, quoted in John S. Lindberg, The Background of Swedish Emigration to the United States (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1930), p. 32.

[2] Ibid., p. 33.

pastors were addressed] with their mansions. Here everyone is equally good."[1] (trans.)

As a consequence of his higher social status in relation to the people, the minister expected from them recognition of his superior rank.

> He was a rash man, indeed, who would refuse to remove his hat upon meeting a pastor--this was a luxury in which only a reckless returned emigrant would indulge in order to advertise the emancipation that citizenship in the American republic had conferred upon him.[2]

Had there been no America where such preoccupation with rank could be escaped, the Swede might have endured this inequality. But America was real, and this annoyance could be escaped. In 1907, a Swede who had emigrated from his native land in 1881 wrote:

> If I should come to Sweden now and come into a store, I would have to take my cap or hat in my hand and bow ceremoniously, calling a simple bookkeeper herre, etc.; while in America a workman and bookkeeper are of the same rank. Yes, or honored President Roosevelt, himself, does not despise me if I take off my hat or not when I speak to him.[3]

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[1]Sam Rönnegård, Utvandrarnas kyrka (The Church of the Emigrants) (Stockholm: Diakonistyrelsens Bokförlag, 1961), p. 96. Peter Cassel came from Kisa, Östergötland, Sweden in 1845 and founded the colony of New Sweden in southeastern Iowa. Here in 1848, the first congregation of what was to be the Augustana Synod was established. See Olson, The Augustana Lutheran Church in America, 1846-1860, pp. 66-69, 92-94.

[2]Stephenson, p. 3.

[3]Janson, p. 294.

In the eyes of one farmer, conditions in Sweden appeared as follows:

> How has the aristocratic element treated the simple, but honest and hard-working farmer? In a manner that has left a thorn in every workingman's heart . . . ludicrous striving for titles and the ridiculous class distinctions, obsequious servility among the lower and overbearing arrogance among the higher classes. It is fruitless to attempt to prevent emigration as long as such conditions exist.[1]

iii. Economic Conditions

(1) Agricultural Conditions

The earlier emigration from Sweden in the nineteenth century was largely due to agricultural conditions as they existed at that time. Only a brief review will be given of this aspect of the economic life of Sweden since the greater part of this dissertation is involved with the emigration which resulted from other than agricultural reasons.

In the Treaty of Nystad of 1721, Sweden lost her Baltic provinces to Russia. This loss, together with a long period of impoverishing wars under the reign of Charles XII (1697-1718), forced Sweden to inaugurate measures toward economic restoration.

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[1]Letter from a farmer quoted by Oscar N. Olson, The Augustana Lutheran Church in America: 1846-1860 (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1950), p. 2.

Agriculture underwent radical change since this was the center of Sweden's economics. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century, farming was carried on under the village system. Each farmer would have many strips of land separated from one another.

This centuries-old system of land holding was radically altered by a series of Enclosure Acts between the years of 1749 and 1827. The old village system was brought to an end as the strips of land were consolidated. The peasant moved out to live on the land which he farmed.[1]

There were others, however, who had no land on which to live after this change. Under the old system, tenants provided a valuable source of needed labor. Another type of worker was the farm hand who did not live on the land but hired himself out to the farmer. With the consolidation of lands, owners could now farm more efficiently and so had no further need for these former employees. This plight of the farm worker was further increased by a rapidly expanding population especially among this class. Between 1750 and 1840, the number of unmarried farm workers doubled and the landless agrarian group of crofters and cotters[2] increased five-fold.

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[1]Janson, pp. 48-49.

[2]A crofter was a tenant who farmed a larger portion for which right he might give as much as six days labor a

> It was the inability of the landless population and the younger generations to acquire land and economic prosperity that turned the steps of many thousands toward the new world. It was this surplus agricultural population that was drained in the first waves of emigration to America.[1]

During the nineteenth century, other conditions also arose in agriculture which drove many Swedish emigrants to America. Crop failures during the three successive years of 1866-1868 caused the "Great Famine" which actually reduced people to beggary.[2] While agriculture enjoyed prosperity during the seventies, industrialization was also beginning, especially in the forest and wood industry. This was to have an adverse effect upon agriculture.

After 1870, large corporations purchased or leased the forests which had formerly been worked by the farmer for part of his income.[3] Some of these people went into the forest and wood-pulp industry, thus becoming industrial and urban rather than rural dwellers. Eventually, some of these left the industries of Sweden to come to America.

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week to the owner. He could hire someone else to do this service for him. A cotter farmed a smaller portion for which fewer days of labor were required.

[1]Janson, p. 116. [2]Ibid., p. 222.

[3]Ibid., pp. 328-30.

Others, who still desired to remain farmers, were also lured to America. Vast areas of cheap agricultural land had been opened to development by the Homestead Law of 1862. The new states of this region, anxious to fill up their territory with settlers, formed immigration boards which sent representatives to Sweden, as well as other parts of Europe, to encourage immigration into the United States. Attractive literature printed in the Swedish language was sent in abundance to this Scandinavian country.[1]

Another active agency in this respect was the railroads. They had received large tracts of land from the United States government. By settling this property with home-makers and farmers, not only would the property be increased in value but, even more importantly, products would be produced which would stimulate their own business as carriers. Like the states, the railroads placed representatives in Sweden to encourage emigration.[2]

Although industrialization was growing in Sweden, all through the nineteenth century, it was the farms that were to supply the largest number of emigrants. During the eighties, agriculturalists outnumbered industrial workers two to one.[3]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 248-55. [2] Ibid., pp. 261 f.

[3] Sundbärg, p. 236, Table 96, quoted in Janson, p. 440.

(2) Industrial Conditions

The year 1888 has been cited as the date when Sweden turned from an agricultural, rural economy to become an industrial, urban society.[1] This rather precise date for a major shift in the life of a nation is made on the basis of an important change of power between political parties. The central issue was free trade versus protective tariff. The controversy did not follow party lines but changed them to include Protectionists in one and Free-traders in the other.[2] The old party system was destroyed. Protection was supported by large numbers of farmers, especially the more prosperous ones who had suffered economically from the rising amount of foreign grain which was being imported from Russia and America. The farmers were joined by the industrialists. On the opposite side stood the less prosperous agriculturalists. Thus, the Agrarian party was split.[3]

The Liberal party suffered a similar fate. While most of the members of this group supported the free-trade policy, many joined the Protectionists. The free-traders were also joined by the townspeople which included many of the industrial workers.[4]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 38, 355. [2] Ibid., p. 290.

[3] Ibid., p. 438. [4] Andersson, p. 372.

From 1885 to 1888, this was a major issue before the Riksdag. In the latter year, the Protectionists were successful. From now on, it became government policy to support industry which had been in rapid development for the past twenty years.

Although during the eighties, the larger number of emigrants still came from the agricultural areas, a growing proportion of industrial workers was to be found among those leaving Sweden.[1] This was to be expected in view of the growing industrialization that had been going on for two decades.

Following the "boom of the 1870's,"[2] came the "stress and the strain of the eighties."[3] Economic depression in industry as well as in agriculture raised the emigration figure to the highest level ever reached in Sweden's history. The peak year was 1882 when 64,607 Swedes came to the United States; the second highest figure, 54,698, was reached in 1888, and total figure for the decade of the eighties was 391,776.[4]

> The year ending June 30, 1879, has been characterized by great commercial and industrial

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[1] Supra, p. 32. [2] Janson, p. 435.

[3] Ibid., title of Chapter VIII, pp. 276-316.

[4] U.S., Department of Labor, Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1931, p. 220, Table 83.

> depression. . . . The high prices for iron and timber prevailing during the flush times of four or five years ago induced an abnormal development in the industries, accompanied by a popular craze for building of railways, most of which were many years in advance of the needs of the country; the great ease in money and the general prosperity of the commercial classes induced the formation of many stock companies for these and similar purposes. At the high tide of this mania for development came a great falling off in demand and consequent depression in prices of iron, lumber, and oats.[1]

This same year of 1879 initiated a period of labor unrest which was to continue well into the twentieth century. The first big labor crisis occurred in the large sawmill industry around Sundsvall which is located on the eastern coast of north central Sweden.

In 1879, prices for lumber had fallen to less than half of what they had been in 1874. The lumbering industry attempted to offset this financial loss by reducing wages from fifteen to twenty per cent from the previous year. The workers in several of the sawmills around Sundsvall struck. Some thirty sawmills were closed. The strike lasted from May 26th to June 3d. Government troops were employed to end the strike. Some of the leaders were imprisoned and about one thousand workers were forced to return to their jobs at the lower level of pay. The strike

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[1]Ernest L. Oppenheim (Consul), U.S. Consular Letters, 1864-1888, quoted in Janson, p. 279.

"left in the minds of the laboring classes in Sweden an indelible impression. The conflict between labor and capital had begun."[1]

There was some economic recovery in the lumber industry during the eighties but wages did not rise correspondingly. The discontent increased as the laborers remembered with bitterness the government suppression of the strike at Sundsvall. This restlessness was further aggravated by the increasing power of Socialism and the lure of America.

Socialism began to make its influence felt during the eighties. Its first leader, August Palm, had adopted the teachings of Socialism while residing in Denmark and Northern Germany during the seventies. He returned to Sweden in 1881 and from henceforth was an agitator for the teachings he had adopted and an organizer of labor unions.[2]

While Palm was the first important proponent for Socialism in Sweden, more effective leadership to the movement was given by Hjalmar Branting. In 1889, the Social Democratic party was formed and in 1897, Branting took his seat in the Second Chamber of the Riksdag as the first representative of the party. Under this party, labor

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[1]Janson, p. 337. [2]Ibid., pp. 442-47.

unions were organized and, through legislation, concessions were won for the industrial labor.[1] In 1898, the Swedish Federation of Labor was formed and, a year later as a counter-organization (against the socialistic tendencies of the Federation), the Swedish Workers' Union was organized. Into these two national bodies, many of the labor unions of Sweden entered but there were still, in 1907, 21,000 laborers belonging to unions which had not affiliated with either of these two groups.

The increasing power of labor nurtured the conflict with capital. Numerous strikes occurred in the eighties and nineties and in the first decade of the twentieth century. Among the major ones was a strike among the building unions in Stockholm in 1881, a strike in 1902 over the question of franchise, and an especially severe one which involved every worker in the kingdom broke out in 1909.[2]

This recurrence of strikes prompted many Swedes to look to emigration as the means to a more favorable way of livelihood. They were further stimulated toward

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[1]Andersson, pp. 391-92.

[2]G. G. Magnusson, Social Demokratien i Sverige (Social Democracy in Sweden) (Stockholm, 1920-1924), II, 114, 123 ff., 126, 144, 224, 292; Karl Hildebrand, Gustav V (Stockholm, 1926), XIV, 41-42, 44, 46, 48, 49-51; Sigfrid Hansson, Den svenska fackföreningsrörelsen (The Swedish Trade Union Movement) (Stockholm, 1927), p. 160, quoted in Janson, pp. 457-63.

this choice by the lure of better conditions in America. For example, in the eighties, whereas a worker in Stockholm received sixty-five cents a day, he could come to the United States and work in the coal mines of Pennsylvania for forty dollars a month. After having paid for his room and board, he could still save twenty-five dollars.[1] Between 1904 and 1907, a Swedish factory worker earned about $375 per year. In America, he could earn $125 per month as a dairyman.[2] During this first decade of the twentieth century, more Swedes left their native land than during any other like period with the exception of the previous eighties. Between 1901 and 1910, 249,534 Swedes came to America.[3]

During the second decade of the twentieth century, emigration was restricted because of the war. Economic conditions were also greatly improved during this time but in the twenties, unemployment, depression, and strikes victimized the Swedish workingman. Emigration figures once again began to rise, reaching a total of 18,310 in

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[1]"Utvandranres egna uppgifter," Bilaga VII (The Emigrants' Own Information, Appendix VII) (Stockholm, 1908), pp. 175-177, quoted in Janson, p. 285.

[2]Ibid., p. 33, quoted in Janson, p. 464.

[3]Willcox, I, pp. 386-87, 389.

1924.[1] Following this year, the figure greatly declined. This was effected not so much by an improvement for the laboring man, as by the series of immigration restrictions inaugurated by the United States in 1921. All through the decade of the twenties these restrictions became increasingly severe as laws were passed which steadily decreased the quota of emigrants from any given country.

During this period of Swedish emigration, it is notable that the economic life of Sweden was increasingly shaped by industrialization rather than by agriculture. This in turn affected the migration of Swedes out of their native land.

> Since 1890 it was no longer agricultural distress but economic crises and periods of labor conflict that swelled the numbers of departing citizens from their fatherland. The labor unrest in 1902 and 1903 raised emigration to 37,000 and 39,000; the year following the big strike of 1909, the exodus amounted to 27,000; and the unemployment in 1923 which followed the crisis of 1920 forced 29,000 people to leave Sweden. Most of them came to the United States.[2]

iv. Religious Conditions

"Sweden is one of the most intensely Protestant countries in the world."[3] Extreme as this statement may

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[1] Ibid., p. 393.

[2] Sundbärg, p. 106, Table 25, p. 141, Table 39; Statistiska Centralbyrån, Statistik årsbok för Sverige (Central Bureau of Statistics, Yearbook of Statistics for Sweden) (Stockholm, 1927), pp. 72-77, Table 61, quoted in Janson, p. 11.

[3] Stephenson, p. 1.

seem, the history of the church in Sweden appears to support it. One of the last European areas to be Christianized, it was also geographically farther from the ecclesiastical seat of authority than the rest of Europe. This temporal and spatial distance from Rome contributed to a lesser degree of dependence upon, and submission to papal power. Over four hundred years had to pass from the time that Ansgar came from France about the year 829 before it was possible to impose celibacy upon the clergy at the Council of Skenninge in 1248.[1] Even then, there is some doubt whether the rule was ever really thoroughly imposed.[2] Also, in Sweden, there was a great deal of self-government in parish life. The bönder, i.e., the peasant proprietor farmers, in many instances formed their own parishes and elected their own clergymen.[3] Scholasticism which was such a strong weapon of authority and power in the medieval

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[1]L. A. Anjou, The History of the Reformation in Sweden, trans. Henry M. Mason (New York: General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union and Church Book Society, 1859), p. 3.

[2]John Wordsworth, The National Church of Sweden (London: A. R. Mowbray and Co., Ltd., 1911), pp. 116, 119.

[3]Yngve Brilioth, Den senare medeltiden (The Later Middle Ages), 1274-1521, Vol. II of Svenska kyrkans historia (History of the Swedish Church), eds. Hjalmar Holmquist and Hilding Pleijel (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1941), pp. 642-44; Wordsworth, p. 119.

church in the rest of Europe never flourished in Sweden.[1]

Another instance of the relative independence of Sweden was the papal practice of placing Swedes in most of the episcopal offices.[2] This served to make a national and a folk church. There is considerable evidence that Rome did not press her international system upon the church in this country of the north.[3] This fact is a partial explanation for the relatively smooth transition from medieval Catholicism to Lutheran Protestantism.

In brief summary, two dates may be cited as important to the formation of Sweden as "one of the most intensely Protestant countries in the world." The first is 1523 when Gustavus Vasa after having successfully freed Sweden from Danish rule was elected king at Strängnäs. In the next eight years, Sweden became a centralized power under its new king, the nobility had been strengthened, the church had been sundered from Rome, and at least in form and goal, it was by 1530 a Protestant country.[4] An important accomplishment of this decade was the creation

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[1]Wordsworth, p. 121. [2]Ibid., p. 170.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Hjalmar Holmquist, Reformationstiden (Reformation Era), 1521-1611, Vol. III, part 1 of Svenska kyrkans historia (History of the Swedish Church), chaps. ii and iii; Bergendoff, chap. i.

of a united country.[1]

The other important date is 1593. Between these two dates, Lutheranism had been threatened both by Calvinism (under the rule of Eric from 1560 to 1568) and Catholicism (under the rule of John III from 1568 to 1592) and even more so by Sigismund who was a confirmed Roman Catholic.[2]

The crisis came in 1592 upon the death of John III. The successor to John was his son Sigismund who had been educated as a Catholic by his mother through whom Sigismund was heir to the Polish throne. He assumed this responsibility in 1587 and in this position, he was required to espouse the Roman Catholic faith.[3]

As heir to the crown of Sweden, the death of John caused real concern. There was fear the Sigismund would attempt to return Sweden to the fold of Rome. This threat to Swedish Protestantism supplied the occasion for the Council of Uppsala (Uppsala möte) which convened on March 1, 1593. The unaltered Augsburg Confession was adopted together with the three ancient formulae, the Apostles',

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[1]Conrad Bergendoff, Olavus Petri and the Ecclesiastical Transformation in Sweden, 1521-1552 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928), pp. 60-61.

[2]Wordsworth, pp. 228-46. [3]Ibid., p. 246.

the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creeds,[1] Protestantism was now firmly established in Sweden.

Following the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), orthodoxy developed and hardened. Sweden, which had largely escaped medieval Scholasticism, now became influenced by the scholasticism of Protestant orthodoxy.

A series of church laws was passed to establish orthodoxy and deny freedom of religion. In 1686, the Book of Concord became the standard by which the religious life of the realm was to be governed. Not only did the individual lose his independence in religious belief, but the church itself came under increasing control of the crown.[2] Other measures such as the keeping of the vital statistics of the people for the realm by the church, private catechization of the families, compulsory instruction in reading and in catechism, and conformity to the prayer-book as published in 1693 had all become a part of Swedish life before 1700.[3]

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, pietism entered Sweden from Germany. In the beginning, it was somewhat favorably received in Sweden. Eventually, the tide turned. A series of edicts against conventicles was

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[1] Ibid., pp. 259-61. [2] Ibid., p. 305.

[3] Ibid., pp. 306-307.

passed in 1706, 1713, 1721, and finally, in 1726, the severest one of all. This law forbade all public gatherings for worship except for family devotions unless a pastor was present.[1]

Pietism, however, never died out. Moravianism established communities of brethren in Stockholm and West Gottland between 1739 and 1744.[2] The movement was not to become a major challenge to the church for nearly a century.

As late as the 1840's, life in the church in Sweden presents a rather grim picture. The church laws were rigidly enforced. At the back of the church building stood the duty-stool or the duty-bench. Offenders (usually adulterers) must stand throughout the worship and at its close, the sins of the guilty were declared forgiven in the presence of the entire congregation. For breaches of morality considered to be less serious such as drunkenness, smoking of tobacco in church, slander, and unseemly behavior during the worship, there were stocks outside the church. Offenders sat in these during the services.[3]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 317-24. [2] Ibid., p. 325.

[3] Hilding Pleijel, "The Church from Which Came the Founders of the Augustana Synod," The Augustana Quarterly, XXVII (July, 1948), 210-11.

To the mind of that day, however, this pattern of life was not repulsive. Professor Pleijel notes that in this rural economy, the village was the center of life. Around and within it, the residents knew a self-contained and quite sufficient world. The enforced catechetical examinations actually became occasions for festivals within the homes. Each felt a responsibility for the other and even the offenders against community discipline were not ostracized. To allow such to go unpunished would have been considered against God's will, but those thus disciplined remained within the community. Immigrants who came to the United States in the early nineteenth century continued to look back upon this village life with a kind of nostalgia.[1]

(1) The Break-up of Village Life

In the nineteenth century, two forces pressed in upon Swedish life which were to affect the church in Sweden. One of these was the socio-economic upheaval caused by the passage of the Enclosure Acts.[2] This brought to an end the unified, community life of the village. With the destruction of this important social unit, the old religious forms as represented in the Lutheran Church in Sweden were deemed to be inadequate by

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[1] Ibid., pp. 211-14. [2] Supra, p. 30.

many. Moreover, the Church itself, except in isolated instances, was unable to adapt itself to this changed social situation. It was to another form of religious life that many people looked--pietism.

(2) Pietism

As already noted, pietism had entered Sweden about the beginning of the eighteenth century. In spite of the Conventicle Acts, it had never died out. Whereas Sweden had shown itself to be an "intensely Protestant" country against medieval Catholicism in the sixteenth century, now this same spirit was directed by pietism against Lutheranism as represented by the state church in Sweden. It must be emphasized that the majority of those who immigrated to the United States considered themselves Lutherans.[1] Most of this group became members of the Augustana Lutheran Synod,[2] founded and supported by and for Swedish immigrants. It has been said that when in the eighteen hundred and fifties, the Conventicle Act of 1726 was revived and imposed, "the numerically greatest religious 'persecution' in the history of Sweden was unleased against Lutherans who were more Lutheran than the church

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[1]Olson, p. 13.

[2]Beginning in 1948 it was called Augustana Lutheran Church.

itself in 'the world's most Lutheran country.'"[1]

To understand better the pietism in Sweden from which came some of the early founders and members of the Augustana Synod, attention must be given to the term "läsare" which means "reader." The term appeared in Norrland (in northern Sweden) in the eighteenth century where the pietistic movement expressed itself in religious meetings in other places than the parish churches. Laymen, often with the encouragement of pastors, would meet together in homes and hold services. This was because the parishes were so large that people could seldom attend the churches. In these meetings, the liturgy of the church would be followed and a sermon from Luther or someone else would be read--hence the term reader or "läsare."[2]

As the movement spread and others became adherents of pietism, the movement took on definite characteristics. There were those conveniently located to the parish churches who attended the church services regularly but, in addition to this, also held their Sunday afternoon "läsare" (reader) meetings. As time went on, the pietistic Lutheran conservatives and the other members of the church

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[1]Sam Rönnegård, "The Religious Movements in Northern Sweden a Hundred Years Ago and the Augustana Synod," trans. O. N. Olson, The Augustana Quarterly, XXVII (July, 1948), 229.

[2]Ibid., pp. 219-20.

in Sweden became more critical of each other. In the eyes of many church members, the pietists overemphasized the emotions, placed higher value on their gatherings than on the church services, tended toward isolation, criticized the clergy and all who did not hold to pietism, discriminated between themselves as the "children of God" and the "children of the world," opposed dancing and everything associated with it, renounced all music that was not spiritual, and denounced all "innocent amusement."[1]

It was out of this background that some of the foremost leaders of the Augustana Synod came: Lars Esbjörn, the first ordained pastor from Sweden and the first professor of theology in the Augustana Seminary; Tuve N. Hasselquist, first president of the Seminary and also of the Synod; and Olof Olsson, successor to Hasselquist as president of the Seminary. The terms of these two presidencies covered a span of forty-eight years. They impressed upon the Synod many of the qualities of the pietism they had known in Sweden including a critical view of dancing and "innocent amusements."

This negative outlook upon such activities placed the pietists both in Sweden and in the Augustana Synod in conflict with the church in Sweden. O. N. Olson describes

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[1] Ibid., p. 224.

a specific instance of these differences in point of view.

> In 1868, the Synod declared that "card playing, dancing, theater going, free masonry and similar societies are contrary to the Word of God and true Christianity" and urged its pastors "to fight earnestly against such attempts to unite Christ and Belial." This sweeping resolution brought a reply from Prof. S. L. Bring in Sweden, in a letter to Hasselquist dated July 23, 1869, in which he says, "I believe this resolution, so broadly expressed, is contrary both to the Word of God and the Lutheran Confession. The Word of God does not declare these things in themselves to be sin." By this Prof. Bring probably did not mean to defend any of these things but recognizes that they belong in the category of adiaphora, and that the resolution reflected Reformed puritanism.[1]

Pietism had been nurtured not only by Herrnhutism but also by English Evangelicalism. The latter was influential chiefly through the Methodist clergyman, George Scott, who ministered to English workingmen in Stockholm beginning in the year 1830.[2] More directly associated with the pietistic movement was Carl Olof Rosenius who came to Uppsala to study in 1838. An heir of Herrnhutism[3] Rosenius came under the direct influence of Scott. When the latter was forced to leave Sweden in 1842 because of certain things he had said that were thought to be

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[1] The Augustana Lutheran Church: 1860-1910, p. 50.

[2] Gunnar Westin, George Scott och hans verksamhet i Sverige (George Scott and His Activity in Sweden) (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses förlag, 1929), II, 361, quoted in Olson, p. 21.

[3] Rönnegard, p. 221.

offensive to that country, Rosenius became the leader.

Rosenius remained a layman all his life. He did not believe in leaving the Lutheran church but desired to reform it from within. To this end, he founded the Evangeliska fosterlands-stiftelsen (National Evangelical Union) in 1856. Its purpose was to create new life in the church by giving to the laymen greater opportunity for participation in the life of the church.[1]

Members of the movement in which Rosenius was such an important person were faithful to the church but in addition, as has been noted, would have other meetings at which they would read sermons, sometimes those of Luther, and have discussion and prayer. It was out of this group that the Augustana Lutheran Church in large measure grew.

Others became members of Baptist, Methodist, Mormon, and Mission Covenent congregations. When these non-Lutherans came to America, they founded and joined churches of these same denominations.

Another group, the Jansonists, under a self-styled prophet, Erik Janson, who preached perfectionism, was the first to feel the pressure of the Conventicle Act. In 1846, the first of this company came to Bishop Hill,

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[1]Janson, pp. 172, 179.

Illinois, to found a community where property was held in common. Eventually, about 1500 came.[1] The experiment came to nothing, but those who had come remained and wrote back to Sweden of the favorable conditions in the land of freedom.

The attempt to enforce religious uniformity in Sweden was doomed to failure. A new land had been discovered to the west. As in other countries, so in Sweden, there were those who saw in the United States a place where they could worship as believers true to the tradition of what they believed Protestantism should be. These Swedes now thought that Protestantism in Sweden had become untrue to its real genius and heritage. "If you find a place in America where the children of God can live in peace and worship God according to their heart's desire, let me know, and I will follow you."[2] So spoke Olof Olsson. A year later, he did come. From 1891 to 1900, he was president of the Augustana Theological Seminary at Rock Island, Illinois.

To Olof Olsson and others, America seemed a part of God's providential design for them.

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[1] Rönnegård, p. 226.

[2] O. N. Olson and G. W. Wickstrom, A Century of Life and Growth: 1848-1948 (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1948), pp. 65-66.

> Some of them thought it was providential that America was discovered so late; that God had held this continent in reserve until the fullness of time, when the faithful could find a refuge from persecution, and practical Christianity could be worked out.[1]

Although the Conventicle Act was repealed in 1858, the stream of emigration had begun. The United States looked far better to these Swedish pietists, Lutherans and non-Lutherans alike, than did the Lutheran church in Sweden.

One other factor that became a part of pietism in Sweden was the espousal of temperance. Drunkenness was a serious problem in Sweden during the first half of the nineteenth century. Clergymen in the Lutheran church were themselves in some instances not above imbibing alcoholic beverages. An emigrant from Sweden wrote back from the United States that he had "dined in hundreds of homes" and had "yet to see a whiskey bottle on the table."[2] In this instance, too, America was pictured in far more favorable hues than was Sweden.

All these factors--the break-up of the village, pietism, temperance, and the lure of freedom of religion in America--served to draw Swedish immigrants to America.

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[1]Stephenson, pp. 39-40.

[2]George Stephenson, "When America Was the Land of Canaan," Minnesota History (September, 1929), pp. 251-52, quoted in Stephenson, p. 142.

The religious cause, though perhaps not as widespread nor obvious as the political, economic, or social causes, was nevertheless real.

Among the factors which encouraged emigration we would perhaps place the economic one first. Olson writes: "The fundamental causes of emigration were economic."[1] Many would agree with him. Others, such as Jensen, list the social as a more important factor.[2] These two--the economic and social--would be regarded more important than the political and religious. Yet these last two were not without real power in the stimulation of this great Swedish emigration. The total impact of these four factors, interrelated in significant ways, represented the force behind this mass emigration of population.

In the next chapter, attention will be centered on that group of Swedish Lutheran emigrants who came at a somewhat later date to settle in the Boston area. While obviously there were relationships between these latter and earlier immigrants, there were also significant differences. These differences between the "old" and the "new" immigrants from both groups of which the Augustana Lutheran Church drew its members will be especially noted.

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[1] P. 2.

[2] Supra, pp. 24-25.

CHAPTER III

THE "NEW" SWEDISH EMIGRANT

1. Main Areas of Swedish Settlement in the United States

The first Swedish emigrants did not for the most part remain on the Atlantic Seaboard. A number of factors drew them to the midwest and the north central states. Illinois and Minnesota were the favored areas of settlement.

The immigrants who came in the sixties, the seventies, and the eighties were mostly agriculturalists who were seeking land of their own. New England with its rocky soil and growing industrial cities did not appeal to these early immigrants of Swedish descent. The Homestead Law of 1862 with its promise of farms consisting of one hundred sixty acres for almost nothing proved to be a stronger attraction. Also, these regions reminded them of the country which they had left and for which most continued to have tender feelings.

> Here [Minnesota] the Swede could find again his clear, romantic lakes, the plains of Skane rich in corn, and the valleys of Norrland. The climate, the situation, the character of the scenery agrees with our people better than that of any other

> American state, and none of them appears to have a greater or a more beautiful future before them than Minnesota.[1]

In the United States census of 1880, the four leading states with the greatest Swedish immigrant population were Illinois (42,415), Minnesota (39,176), Iowa (17,559), and Kansas (11,207). Of the ten states which had the largest number, only three were on the eastern seaboard. New York ranked fifth (11,164), Pennsylvania ninth (7,575), and Massachusetts tenth (4,756).[2]

Ten years later the general alignment had changed but little. Minnesota had displaced Illinois to become first in rank (the population was respectively 99,759 and 85,123). New York with 28,231 had moved to fourth place; Pennsylvania was eighth, numbering 19,213; and Massachusetts had moved up to ninth place with 18,546. The greatest change was in the reduction of Kansas from fourth to tenth place with 16,986 Swedish immigrants.[3] The greater number of Swedish settlers was still going to the farmlands of the West rather than to the urban, industrial

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[1]Letter of Fredrika Bremer written in 1850, quoted in Olson, pp. 77-78.

[2]Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census, 1883, pp. 494-95.

[3]Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890, part III, p. 99.

areas of the East.

It was in the next ten years that the great shift occurred. The census figures for the year 1900 show Minnesota with 115,476 and Illinois with 109,147 as still retaining first and second place, but Iowa is displaced by New York for third place with 42,708 and by Massachusetts which rises from ninth to fourth place between 1890 and 1900. In the latter year, Massachusetts numbered among its population 32,192 Swedish born persons among its citizens. Connecticut, because of its industry, had risen to tenth place.[1]

The alignment of Minnesota, Illinois, New York, and Massachusetts as the top four states in this classification of population continued until 1930. In that year, California displaced Massachusetts, dropping the latter to fifth place. Illinois, with its greater concentration of industry, especially around Chicago, had attracted more Swedes so that it replaced Minnesota as the leading state of the nation in this respect.[2]

These figures show that the great shift of Swedish population from rural life to the great industrial areas

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[1]United States Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Abstract, 1912, pp. 205-206.

[2]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Abstract of the Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1933, p. 132.

of the United States took place between 1890 and 1900. Before 1890, the Swede sought agriculture as his form of livelihood. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, the industrial centers drew a greater proportion of these immigrants. It will also be noted that since 1900, the pattern has remained fairly constant with little shift in the rank of states.

2. Characteristics of the "New" Immigrant

The designation of "old" and "new" immigration is one commonly employed by historians. Roughly, the "old" immigrants were those who came chiefly from Northwestern Europe between 1820 and 1880. The "new" immigrants came after 1880 and mostly from Southeastern Europe.[1]

Jones criticizes these categories as unhistorical and misleading. He argues this division has led to unfair discrimination. "Nativists" have employed these terms to the disadvantage of the southern Europeans. The distinction as to the time of the coming of each of these groups is not so sharp as the adjectives "old" and "new" suggest. Also, Jones says, the motives for immigration for each of these classes were basically the same.[2]

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[1]Maldwyn Allen Jones, American Immigration ("The Chicago History of American Civilization Series"; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), pp. 3-4.

[2]Ibid., pp. 176-82.

The arguments of Jones are valid as far as they go, but they do not present the whole situation. Industrialization and urbanization in Europe changed greatly the occupational aptitudes and interests of the "new" emigrant as compared with those of the "old." Also, the closing of the frontier in America of necessity changed the character of opportunity which this land to the west could offer to the emigrant of later date.

While the motives of emigration from Europe remained similar for all, the great change, noted in the preceding paragraph, that took place both in Europe and the United States created a watershed in history around 1890. The United States to which these people came after that date had changed greatly from the time the first immigrants arrived. Changes had also taken place in certain of the European countries so that the land which these later emigrants left had been greatly altered from that which the earlier ones had known, and in this process many of the immigrants themselves were of somewhat different character after 1890 than before.

G. Everett Arden, currently professor of church history and liturgics of the Augustana Theological Seminary, describes the Swedish immigrants of the middle decades of the nineteenth century as having four characteristics--they were young, they came from the rural areas, they

were economically poor, and they usually came as family men with their families.[1]

This description of the "old" immigrants who came to the United States before 1890 may be used as a point of departure which by contrast the "new" immigrants may be identified.

i. The "New" Immigrant Was an Industrial Worker

In the eighties, there was still a large number of immigrants who came from the rural areas. Two-thirds of the Swedish immigrants were from the agricultural classes, but by the second decade of the twentieth century, over half belonged to the industrial group.[2]

By this time, the immigrant was likely to be an ex-factory worker who possessed an industrial skill. Labor unrest and depression had prevented him from earning a sufficient living. Upon arrival in the United States, he might go to friends or relatives in the rural midwest but not to stay. He did not want to farm. He would settle in a city and obtain a job there. He was a different creature with a different view as to desirable occupation

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[1] The School of the Prophets (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Press, 1960), pp. 7-9.

[2] Sundbärg, page 236, Table 96, quoted in Janson, p. 440.

from the earlier or "old" immigrant.[1]

Not only did the "new" immigrant come from changed conditions in Sweden, but he was confronted by new conditions in the United States. The frontier had disappeared.

> Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at the present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlements that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent, its westward movement, etc., it cannot, therefore, any longer have a place in the census reports.[2]

Frederick Jackson Turner, in commenting upon this report wrote: "This brief official statement marks the closing of a great historic movement. Up to our own day American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West [with its] existence of an area of free land."[3] Even if the immigrant of the 1890's had desired to obtain a farm, such possession was no longer possible or at least not on as favorable terms as for those who came to the United States at an

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[1]Lund, p. 106.

[2]Extra Census Bulletin No. 2, April 20, 1891, quoted in Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner, compiled by Everett E. Edwards (Madison, Wis.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1938), p. 185.

[2]Ibid., pp. 185-86.

earlier date.

ii. The "New" Immigrant Came as a Single Individual

Not only was the "new" immigrant an industrial worker (and thereby of an urban rather than a rural orientation), but he tended to come as a single individual.

> During the last century the so-called "family type" gave a distinct stamp to the Scandinavian migration; but since about 1890 the number of single persons has become relatively larger. This generalization applies more to Sweden than to the other two branches [Norway and Denmark].[1]

A number of factors contributed to this difference between the "old" and the "new" immigrant. One was the technical improvement in transportation, especially by sea travel. Before the advent of the steamship, the journey across the Atlantic would take one to three months. By steamship, the journey was reduced in time to ten days.[2]

When the "old" immigrant came to the United States, having once made the rigorous journey, he did not easily contemplate returning to his native land. He knew beforehand that it would not be easy, so he had brought his family with him. The uprooting from Sweden was decisive; he must drive his roots down in the new land.

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[1]George Stephenson, A History of American Immigration (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1926), p. 29.

[2]Jones, pp. 184-85.

This was not the case with the "new" immigrant. With swifter, cheaper, and easier travel, he could look to his departure from Sweden with far less finality. Stricter supervision by the government over conditions for passengers and more rapid steamship travel made the possibility of return to Sweden a simple matter. Many came over as individuals. If the United States was not found to be suitable, the "new" immigrant could return. By the same token, if he found the new land good, he would probably marry in the United States and raise his family here.

Between 1870 and 1910, 100,000 Swedes did return to Sweden,[1] and between 1890 and 1910, the annual repatriation was four to five thousand.[2] This increasing rate of "temporary European immigration"[3] indicates the growing mobility which enabled and encouraged individuals to migrate.

Not only technical improvement but legislative and human reform made travel considerably easier for the "new" immigrant than for the "old." The earlier travellers were at the mercy not only of weather but also of

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[1]Gustav Sundbärg, Betänkande i Utvandringsfrågan (Report on the Question of Emigration) (Stockholm, 1913), p. 609, quoted in Lund, p. 46.

[2]Andersson, p. 384. [3]Jones, p. 187.

unscrupulous sea captains and dishonest agents at the ports both of embarkation and entry. The passengers had to provide their own food; they found themselves in overcrowded, ill-lighted, and unsanitary quarters. Sickness and epidemics were common, with a normal mortality rate of about 10 per cent although in the year 1847, that figure rose to 20 per cent. On one ship known as the "April," five hundred of the eleven hundred Germans perished in the crossing.[1]

> Often the ship would be so crowded that the people, who had to provide their own mattresses and bedding, were obliged to sleep in the gangways. When even this space was filled, wooden shacks were thrown up on the top deck. Here the wind howled through the walls, rain and sea water leaked in, and sometimes the whole flimsy construction was broken to pieces by waves and swept overboard.
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> "Damned plague ships and swimming coffins," cried the New York Journal of Commerce in 1853, succinctly expressing general opinion.[2]

The writer's paternal grandfather as a member of a colony of emigrants came to the United States from Sweden in 1865. The ship on which he traveled had previously carried soldiers among whom cholera had broken out. The vessel, inadequately fumigated, became one of those "swimming coffins." His first wife and infant son

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[1]Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted ("Universal Library"; New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1951), pp. 48-51.

[2]Mary Cable, "Damned Plague Ships and Swimming Coffins," American Heritage, XI (August, 1960), p. 79.

contracted this illness and died on board ship. There were more than a hundred of this company of Swedes who succumbed.

After coming to America, these "old" immigrants did not remain on the east coast but, lured by virgin land made available by the Homestead Law and the railroad companies, they moved on to such states as Minnesota, Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas to found new communities. This life of the pioneers demanded the combined resources of a group of people. Reference may again be made to the writer's grandfather. He was induced to immigrate because he was a blacksmith. His skill was essential to a new community. Colonies of new settlers could survive by this kind of interdependence whereas an individual would face almost insurmountable hazards.

By 1890, all this was changed. The new lands were well enough settled to dispel the risks of the former wilderness. Settlements of the "old" immigrants served as "beachheads" for the "new" ones. They even became a power to draw Swedes to the United States.

> When the Northman emigrates, it is not because his own country has no use for him or because it denies him food, but because he finds it difficult at home to realize his desire and get into the strong upward current in society. In many cases also he is encouraged to try his luck in foreign lands by knowledge that he can live his life among his countrymen often in close touch with relatives, can speak his own tongue, have his children taught in Scandinavian schools, attach himself to a Scandinavian church, and so on.[1]

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[1]Willcox, II, 293.

Even if the attachment of the "new" immigrant to these older Swedish, rural, western settlements was only of a temporary nature until he moved on to the city and an industrial job, the existence of such a community as a place of security was a welcome certainty such as the "old" immigrant did not know.

These settlements of Swedes in America did more than provide a welcome for the "new" immigrant. In an investigation made by the Swedish Labor Department of emigrants who left for the United States the last six months of 1922 and the first six months of 1923, it was shown that not only were two-thirds of them going to relatives, but one-fifth of them had received their tickets from America in order that they might leave Sweden.[1]

It was these two aspects--that the "new" immigrant was industrial and urban in outlook rather than rural and that he came increasingly as an individual rather than in companies (i.e., colony or family groups)--which distinguished him from the "old" immigrant. The other two characteristics which Professor Arden mentions--that he was young and that he was poor--were shared by both groups.

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[1]C. C. Schmidt, "Folkutbytet med främmande länder," (The Population Exchange With Foreign Lands), ed. G. H. von Koch, Social handbok (Social Handbook) (Stockholm, 1925), p. 140, quoted in Janson, p. 484.

From 1860 through 1925, decade by decade, the largest age group to leave Sweden was that between twenty and twenty-five years of age, but between 1911 and 1920 the majority were between fifteen and twenty years old.[1]

Again, there seems to have been little difference in economic status. They were for the most part poor. If it was famine that drove them from Sweden in the sixties,[2] then agricultural and industrial depression did so in the eighties.[3] For those who left in the 1920's, it was high unemployment which they were leaving behind.[4]

iii. The "New" Immigrant Possessed a Different Religious Outlook

There was another difference, however, which Arden does not mention--the difference in religious outlook between the two groups.

As already noted,[5] the "old" immigrant had been influenced by the läsare (reader) movement. For many like the Jansonists in 1846[6] and the group

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[1]Statistiska Centralbyrån, Statistisk årsbok för Sverige (Central Bureau of Statistics, Yearbook of Statistics for Sweden) (Stockholm, 1927), p. 74, Tables 63 and 64, quoted in Janson, p. 501.

[2]Supra, p. 31. [3]Supra, p. 34.

[4]Statistisk årsbok för Sverige (Yearbook of Statistics for Sweden), 1927, p. 229, Table 192; Ibid., p. 239, quoted in Janson, pp. 475-76.

[5]Supra, pp. 46-50.

[6]Stephenson, The Religious Aspects . . ., chap. iv.

of one hundred fifty that came with Esbjörn,[1] it was, in part, the desire to worship in a free land, unfettered by the restrictions of the Lutheran church in Sweden, that brought them to the United States.

The "old" immigrant also tended to be a believer in temperance out of religious conviction. The pietism of the läsare movement regarded temperance as a necessary virtue of the Christian. Intemperance rendered one not acceptable in the household of the saints.

The "new" immigrant came out of a different religious milieu. By the time of his coming, the läsare movement had run its course.[2] Beginning in 1858,[3] a series of laws had been passed which gave increasing religious toleration to the non-Lutheran Swedes. Hence, an important occasion for both the läsare movement and emigration from Sweden no longer existed.

Temperance was also regarded in a different light. The "new" immigrant was also a believer in temperance but no longer from religious convictions. Beginning in 1879, temperance organizations without religious attachments were established. The Good Templars promoted temperance

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[1] Olson, p. 118.

[2] Stephenson, The Religious Aspects . . ., p. 306.

[3] Ibid., p. 158.

through adult education, symbols, ceremonies, and entertainment.[1] The pietists reacted against the Templars with the accusation that they were worldly. Temperance also became a part of the platform of the Liberal political party and of the labor movement.[2]

This separated the issue of temperance from pietism. To be sure the pietists continued to espouse temperance, but now it was no longer necessary to be a pietist in order to be in favor of temperance. One could support temperance without being a pietist. For the pietist, this could mean one might be a supporter of temperance without being religious.

Those who identified a religious person as one who was faithful to the institutional church and practiced Bible reading and prayer looked upon the "new" immigrant as irreligious. That the "Swedes have always been deeply religious"[3] could no longer be accepted as true according to the above definition. "Our former religious-thinking people began to be divided into two groups, the believing

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[1]Sigfrid Hanson, Den svenska fackföreningsrörelsen (The Swedish Trade Union Movement) (Stockholm, 1927), pp. 13-14, quoted in Janson, p. 442.

[2]Andersson, p. 406.

[3]Benson and Hedin, Americans from Sweden, p. 177.

and the non-believing."[1] It is interesting to note that term non-believer came into general use only in the latter part of the nineteenth century.[2]

One explanation may go back to the free-church or pietistic movement itself. A central affirmation of this pattern of belief was individual liberty. It was this conviction which created protest against the Lutheran church in Sweden.

The belief in individual liberty was also important both to the labor movement and the Liberal party. Both of these latter groups gained great support from the free-church movement.[3] Yet, it was the Liberal Party, not the free churches, in which the modern Swede saw the source of his benefits.

An even stronger impulse toward this type of irreligion has been the Socialist movement as structured in the Social-Democratic party. This has been a strong factor in the establishment of the program of social legislation for which modern Sweden is noted. The Swedish laboring man has seen his lot greatly improved by the championship of his rights by the Social-Democrats.

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[1] J. Källander, Svenskt församlingsliv under 1800-talet (Swedish Congregational Life During the Nineteenth Century) (Stockholm, 1912), p. 4, quoted in Lund, p. 6.

[2] Lund, p. 6.

[3] Andersson, p. 406.

Yet, Socialism has been at best indifferent to religion.

> The religious question has never been of much importance in the [Social-Democratic] program; it was considered a private matter. There has been a certain amount of religious indifference on the part of the young party members.[3]

The relation of the modern Swede to the Lutheran church in Sweden was somewhat ambiguous. The industrial worker, on the one hand, was alienated by the church's historic opposition toward social legislation. On the other hand, his feeling of hostility toward the church was somewhat less than that of the more radical läsare as represented in many of the "old" immigrants. This was in large part due to the awakening national feeling that was stimulated in Sweden beginning around 1890. A new generation of writers and artists reawakened an appreciation for the Swedish heritage of which the church was so important as both creator and guardian. This did not make of the "new" Swedish immigrant a better attendant at church. Yet, upon coming to the United States, he was more Swedish and high church because of the awakening pride in the Swedish heritage.

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[1]G. Gerhard Magnusson, Social-demokratien i Sverige (The Social-Democrats in Sweden) (Stockholm: 1920-24), III, 247-49, 258, quoted in Janson, p. 472.

> The group of New England Swedes, composed largely of immigrants who came to America after 1880, contains in large numbers the new type of immigrant. Those among them who remained true to the Church are more Swedish and high church than their precursors, having left the fatherland after the läsare movement had run its course.[1]

Attention in the succeeding chapters will be devoted to the acculturation of the Swedish Lutheran immigrant in the Boston area. The study will be devoted to an examination of this process in eighteen congregations. Since the first of these was organized in 1867 and since only five of the eighteen were founded before 1890, it is largely with the "new" immigrant as defined in this chapter with which the investigation of this dissertation will be concerned.

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[1]Stephenson, The Religious Aspects . . ., p. 306.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRESERVATION OF ASPECTS OF THE SWEDISH LUTHERAN BACKGROUND

This chapter will be devoted to the study of why the preservation of their European background was important to the members of the Swedish Lutheran congregations in the Boston area; why the Swede looked to his church in America to do this; and what elements of that background these churches, with varying degrees of success, preserved up to 1930.

1. The Importance of the Background

When the immigrant arrived in America, he was faced with strange surroundings. In many instances he actually suffered from the hostility of his new neighbors, and, in any event, there were numerous inconveniences.[1] While this was truer of the "old"[2] immigrants than the new, it was, to some degree, true of them all.

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[1] Supra, pp. 61-64.

[2] See distinction between "old" and "new," supra, pp. 57-59.

i. The Loneliness of the Immigrant

In the midst of such conditions the immigrant felt an increasing nostalgia for the homeland. Before he left, he had found many good reasons why he should seek a new home in a new land. He could find many things wrong with his native country.

Once having left his familiar surroundings, however, he saw the land of his background from a different perspective. He saw it now as a lovely place for which he felt a longing, often intense.

(1) Persistence of Certain Practices

This sense of alienation led him to attempt to recreate as much of his European background as he could. For example, for the Swedish immigrant, as for other "foreigners," certain holidays became very important. In the case of the Swede, those observances which seemed to offer the most festivity and which his memory had vividly retained were perpetuated in America. Perhaps unconsciously the immigrant kept those holidays which best preserved and cherished the ethnic and religious character of his Swedish past.

Two holidays in particular seemed to have been dear to his heart--Midsummer's Day and Gustaf Adolf Day.

(i) Midsummer's Day

Midsummer's Day first came from the nordic myth of the god Balder.[1] Later, under the influence of Christianity, the day was also associated with the nativity of John the Baptist. Through the centuries, however, the day had gathered around itself so much of an ethnic character that it acquired quite as much national as religious significance. This custom of observing Midsummer's Day continued among the immigrants here and was a day of large social gatherings and celebration. In at least eleven of the eighteen congregations studied, records show that in the earlier years, this was an annual observance.[2] In at least two instances, this holiday was observed as late as 1928.[3]

(ii) Gustaf Adolf Day

The other, Gustaf Adolf Day (November 6th), was observed in commemoration of the death in 1632 on the

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[1]Sir James G. Frazier, The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion, Vol. I (Abridged ed.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947), pp. 607-608, 701.

[2]East Boston, Brockton (Bethesda), Dorchester, Lynn, Malden, Natick, Norwood, Roslindale, Somerville, Waltham, and Woburn.

[3]Lynn, as reported in the Daily Evening Item (Lynn), June 22, 1928, and Somerville, "Protokollsbok över styrelsemöten (Minutes of Board of Administration Meetings): 1925-34," June 5, 1928, p. 84.

battlefield of Lützen of Gustaf Adolf, able leader of the Protestant forces in the third period of the Thirty Years' War.[1] Six of the congregations, according to their records, at one time or another observed this date.[1]

In 1894, three hundred years after the birth of Gustavus Adolphus, Swedish Lutheran churches, not only in the Boston area, but throughout the Augustana Synod, celebrated the memory of their hero king.[3] The affection of the Swedish Lutherans for King Gustaf Adolf is further seen in that two of the congregations (Natick and Somerville) were organized under his name.

(2) Scorn of the "American" Mind for the Immigrant

The loneliness of the immigrant was compounded not only by the memory of his homeland and the initial strangeness of his new situation. In addition to these, the scorn, real and imagined, which he suffered from native-born Americans (and perhaps sometimes from other

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[1]C. J. H. Hayes, A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe (New York: Macmillan Co., 1938), I, 268-70.

[2]Cambridge, East Boston, Norwood, Quincy, Somerville, and Woburn.

[3]Referat öfver förhandlingarna vid evangelisk-lutherska Augustana-Synodens trettiondesjette årsmöte (Reports of the Meetings of the Thirty-Sixth Yearly Meeting of the Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod) (Rock Island, Ill.: Lutheran Augustana Book Concern Tryckeri (press), 1895), p. 9.

immigrants who could claim the lone merit of having been in America a bit longer!) intensified the immigrant's determination to preserve his background.

It is true that most immigrants did not have to suffer under such insults as the Irish in the middle of the nineteenth century when they became the victims of Know-Nothing prejudice. Nevertheless, other immigrants, including the Swedes, knew what it was to be insulted and scorned. The Swede knew the sting of the appellative, "Dumb Swede," and he winced under the derogatory statements made about things precious to him. The Swedes at Lynn heard their humble, but dear basement place of worship scoffingly called a "Swedish potato cellar."[1] Such experiences only strengthened the determination of these people to preserve what were, at least to them, the most important aspects of their Swedish Lutheran background.

ii. The Preservation of Elements of Their Heritage Through Their Church

As the immigrant faced the task of preserving aspects of his Swedish Lutheran background, he was confronted with the problem of how to do it. Holidays in themselves were hardly sufficient to guarantee the

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[1] C. A. Lindevall, "A Historical Sketch: 1901-1904" (a handwritten manuscript), Lynn, Mass., 1936.

perpetuation of cherished traditions. Particularly is this true when these are transplanted from a native to an alien culture.

Customs such as holidays are dependent upon something prior--an institution. These Swedes were aware of this and on such an institution they depended for the continuation of their heritage. It was in the religious institution of their congregations where these lonely Swedish Lutherans felt they could most fully preserve their past.

> The church was the agency through which the immigrant preserved his identity the best. It offered him an opportunity to associate with his own countrymen, to worship in a manner which was familiar to him, to speak the language of his childhood, and to preserve customs dear to his heart.[1]

The church played such an important role in this process because the Swedish culture and the Lutheran faith were so intimately related to each other. The church was the church of the nation. In Sweden, the church had touched the life of every Swede at every important point of life. He did not join the church in Sweden; he was born into it. From birth to death of every individual the church felt responsible for the whole Swedish

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[1]O. Fritiof Ander, The Cultural Heritage of the Swedish Immigrant (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1956), p. 76.

population.[1] Consequently, it was unavoidable for the immigrant to ignore the church's influence in his background. This was the institution in which he could best perpetuate the elements of his heritage which he cherished. It is this all-encompassing impingement of the church in Sweden upon the lives of all its citizens that made it a folk-church.[2]

Leander Hokenson, in his pastoral report in 1920, wrote: "We [must] quicken the work of the congregation so that it might be what it ought to be--a folk church for our Swedish people in Quincy."[3]

In his presidential report in 1918 to the New England Conference, Dr. S. G. Hägglund, pastor of the church in Dorchester, even proposed the folk church

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[1]The church in Sweden is an example of church as opposed to sect. See Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches (New York: Macmillan Co., 1950), I, 331-343.

[2]G. Everett Arden notes that this was the significant difference between the Mission Covenant group (which broke away from the Lutheran church in Sweden in 1878) and the Lutheran. The Mission Friends (as they were also called) held "that the church must be composed exclusively of 'believers' and rejected as unscriptural the state-church idea of a 'folk kyrka' [folk-church] embracing the entire community." Augustana Heritage: A History of the Augustana Lutheran Church (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Press, 1963), p. 161.

[3]"Protokollsbok," (Minutes) January 8, p. 108.

arrangement in America.

> Cannot our church make claim [for its financial support] upon the whole Swedish Lutheran population? Then we would bear a clean name for which our people would need no definition, namely "The Swedish Lutheran Church in America." Thus we would show the fullest and most thorough religious kinship among our folk, namely the feeling of nationality. We would also thereby utilize a power for our home missions which history would not be able to wholly or completely exaggerate.[1] (trans.)

Oscar Handlin writes that the influence of the church was so strong because in face of the loneliness created by the departure from the old life and the uncertainties of the new land, the immigrant clung to the religious institution he knew as the one fixed point of security in which he could trust.

> Invariably the way seemed to be the complete transfer of the old religious system to the New World. It was not simply the Gospel and priest the immigrants would bring with them, but holidays and processions, ancient costumes and traditional rites, the whole life of religion at home. All these they wished to replant in the unreceptive soil of America. The only way to be sure of survival was to insist on the rigid preservation of the whole.[2]

Because of the conservative nature of religious institutions, the immigrant saw his own church as the

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[1] Förhandlingar vid New England-Konferensens sjätte årsmöte (Minutes of the Sixth Annual Convention of the New England Conference), 1918, p. 15.

[2] The Uprooted, p. 129.

best agency by which his European background, so important to him, could be preserved.

2. Elements They Preserved

There were three elements of their culture which these Swedish Lutheran congregations around Boston preserved with some degree of success up to 1930: the espousal of the churchly viewpoint (as over against the sectarian or denominational), their view of mission (responsibility almost exclusively for the Swedish immigrant), and the use of the Swedish language.

i. The Espousal of the Churchly Viewpoint

The churchly point of view was strictly held and largely sustained through the years up to 1930. Sectarianism was stoutly denied, and all non-Lutheran Protestant churches were viewed as sectarian over against the Swedish Lutheran churchly concept. Typical of this attitude repeatedly uttered was the presidential report of L. P. Ahlquist to the New York Conference in 1904:

> We have assembled to deal with our churchly affairs. It is with bowed hearts to God that we thankfully remember the guidance of the abundant grace by which the Lord year after year has furthered the Gospel, established our church, and widened its boundaries. We have a priceless privilege here on American soil to own our inherited faith and teaching and it is our undeniable duty to preserve this treasure for our children and posterity. Do not wonder then, . . .

> if we avoid the reformed sectarian and raise our voices against the present apathy toward the spiritual.[1] (trans.)

While the Swedish Lutherans did not deny the use of the term church for the other Protestant groups, the latter were more often referred to as "sects" or "associations." The continuous tendency to reserve "church" for themselves alone was obvious.[2]

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[1] Referat över förhandlingar vid New York Konferens (Report of the Deliberations of the New York Conference), p. 7.

[2] The terms "church" and "sect" are being employed in the Troeltschlian sense. "Church" refers to the objective, sacramental emphasis with a sense of responsibility for a whole people. "Sectarian" refers to the more subjective, individual, experiential emphasis with the stress upon the pure church living within a given community but which possesses a distinctive and identifiable character different from the ethnic, political, geographic, or social communities in which it finds itself. See Troeltsch, I, 331-343. The writer is aware of the criticism against Troeltsch's typology. J. M. Yinger writes: "Although the church-sect dichotomy can be a highly informative concept, it is not adequate to describe the full range of the data. On the basis of two criteria--the degree of inclusiveness of the members of a society and the degree of attention to the function of social integration as contrasted with the function of personal need--a six step classification can be described that may prove to be helpful." (Religion, Society and the Individual [New York: Macmillan Co., 1957], pp. 147-48). Yinger posits six types: (1) the universal church, (2) the ecclesia, (3) the class church or denomination, (4) the established sect, (5) the sect, and (6) the cult. (Ibid., pp. 148-55). Wiese and Becker state four types: (1) the ecclesia (which Yinger borrows from his second type), (2) the sect, (3) the denomination, and (4) the cult. (Systematic Sociology [New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1932], pp. 624-30). In this dissertation, the simpler Troeltsch typology of church and sect has, nevertheless, been used since these were the terms the emigrants themselves employed.

Their churchly point of view can be seen in sharper focus by comparing the methods and attitudes of these congregations toward denominationalism, the unique pattern of American church life and organization.

It has been argued that in America there is neither church nor sect but denomination. Sidney Mead says denominationalism has six elements: it is sectarian; it is a voluntary association; it is mission oriented; it is revivalistic; it tends to be anti-intellectual; and, it is competitive.[1]

Yet, at every one of these points these Swedish Lutherans offered resistance. They found denominationalism very strange and in conflict with their basic concept of the church. They looked with suspicion on revivalism as a method. Neither would they have considered themselves anti-intellectual because of their emphases upon the confessions, the sacraments, and the educational endeavor to communicate the Lutheran faith to their constituency.

In 1886, Conrad E. Lindberg wrote in his presidential report to the New York Conference (to which the Boston area churches at that time belonged):

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[1]Sidney E. Mead, "Denominationalism: The Shape of Protestantism in America," Church History (December, 1954), XXIII, pp. 291-292.

> The Separatists claim we do not strive after the ideal of the pure church. Yet, even though these parties work against us in various ways, the results of our using the proven way show that the Lord has blessed us not only in the physical but also in the spiritual sense.[1] (trans.)

"The proven way" was to employ the sacraments and education as over against revivalism. The pastors deplored the influence of the sects upon the Lutherans in the area because of the small importance the former placed upon the sacraments.

> That the sacraments are despised is a sad fact; for this, the sects are in large part responsible. Sectarians, who are such ravagers, have a certain tendency to despise or condemn the means of grace, and their influence shows wherever they [the sacraments] are not honored. Our common experience is that where the reformed church with its unbiblical baptism and Lord's Supper has made inroads among our people, there is contempt for the means of grace and salvation.[2] (trans.)

Repeatedly, the pastors deplored the practice of the ministration of baptism in the homes. In the eyes of the clergy, this delinquency was also attributed to the influence of the sects.

> Parents allow their children to be baptized early, but in most instances it is done in the home. It is very difficult to rightly impress on the hearts of the people the significance of baptism. Many consider it [baptism] only as a name giving ceremony for a child. The unbelief of the

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[1] Förhandlingar . . . (Proceedings), p. 10.

[2] C. E. Lindberg, president's report, New York konferens förhandlingar (Proceedings), 1897, p. 13.

> times and the false faith of the sects appear to produce this practice in defiance of a true understanding of God's Word regarding the right significance of baptism.[1] (trans.)

The regard for revivalism was no higher. S. G. Hägglund, in his report as president in 1927, defended the way of education as over against revivalism.

> If there is no worth set upon the old, beloved mother tongue, then at least we should not tear down the foundation of our whole Lutheran congregational work, namely by neglecting the Christian education of children. Christian schools under all circumstances should be held rather than the way of the Reformed which is to seek a harmful remedy through frequent and periodic revival meetings.[2] (trans.)

The voluntary principle also deeply affected these Swedish Lutherans. Mead observes that the denominations of necessity under American separation of church and state had to substitute "persuasion" for "coercive power."[3] Although the Swedish Lutherans around Boston thought of themselves as a church, they did have to face the fact that the American citizen, whatever his ethnic background, was not born into one church. Furthermore, the ease with which individuals might change denominational allegiances,

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[1]Gustaf Nelsenius, president's report, New York konferens förhandlingar (Proceedings), 1905, p. 9.

[2]President's report, New England konferens förhandlingar (Proceedings), p. 14.

[3]Mead, p. 299.

or claim none at all, was different in America than in Sweden. Although persons could become non-Lutherans there, they must still support the Lutheran church.[1]

This in turn points up two other elements indicated by Mead which made the Swedish Lutheran churches in the Boston area peculiarly fitted in the mind of the immigrant as apt vehicles for the preservation of his heritage--competition and missions.

The conflict of competition necessitates the awareness of distinction. In Sweden, since the vast number of Swedes belonged to the Lutheran church, the need for sharp awareness as to his basic differences from other groups was not great since the latter were in such a small minority.[2] Not so in America. In the face of denominationalism, the differences among the groups were clear to a non-English speaking, liturgical, and confessional group such as these Boston Swedish Lutherans. They were also a small minority here in contrast to their dominant position in Sweden.

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[1]Until a law was passed in 1951, none could withdraw from the church in Sweden without stating his reason. This could cause unpleasantness. Even today, a Swede who has withdrawn from the church must pay 60 per cent of the church tax. See Robert Murray (ed.), The Church of Sweden (Malmö: Allhem, 1960), pp. 32, 35.

[2]This is not to overlook the conflict created by the läsare (pietistic) movement, but by the time the Boston immigrants came, this movement had largely died out. See Supra, p. 67.

They were at once placed in conflict with non-Lutheran and non-Swedish groups. The nature of this conflict was in terms of competition--and a certain kind of competition. The Swedish Lutherans found themselves competing not for the unchurched in the Boston area, but for those very people whom they considered to be their own--the Swedish Lutheran immigrants. No longer could these Swedish Lutheran churches depend upon the "coercive power" of the State. Only by persausion could they hope to maintain membership in the Lutheran churches and thus establish congregations by which the Swedish heritage could be preserved.

This relates to the other element of mission concern. Only at the very last of the period under study did the mission concern of these congregations extend beyond a ministry to Swedish immigrants and then only to a limited degree. And here Mead's element of mission must be qualified in the case of these Swedish Lutherans. As Mead employs this term, it applies to the mission of concern of American denominationalism for the unchurched wherever they may be and even to the proselytization of those already churched.

This was not the case of Swedes in the Boston vicinity. Here the mission was solely to preserve for their congregations those whom they believed belonged to them by virtue of ethnic background. Little proselytism or desire

to join non-Swedes was shown. With remarkable consistency the records of all the congregations show no need to publicize and announce their services and activities except in the Swedish language papers of the area, the chief of which was published not in Boston, but in Worcester.[1] This general sense of mission concern only for Swedes is typified in the records of the Lynn church as late as 1926. This group passed a resolution that a census be taken in Lynn to see how many Swedish children did not go to any Sunday School, that such be encouraged to attend the Sunday School of the Swedish Lutheran church in that city, and that efforts be made to enlist the parents as members of the congregation.[2] This type of action is recorded repeatedly in the records of all the churches studied.

These immigrants thus saw in their religious institution as they had known it in Sweden the best hope to retain their heritage. So, in Handlin's phrase, in so far as possible, they insisted "on the rigid preservation of the whole." To them, what was essential to "the whole" was three-fold: Swedish Lutheran forms and expressions of worship, the Swedish language, and a particular view of mission.

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[1] Svea. It is still in publication and is, to the knowledge of the writer, the only Swedish newspaper now printed in Massachusetts.

[2] "Protokollsbok," (Minutes), January 21.

(1) Relation to the Augustana Synod

The espousal of the churchly point of view will be further discussed from the viewpoint of the relation of these Swedish Lutheran churches to the national body of the Augustana Synod of which they were a part and to the non-Augustana churches of the vicinity, both Lutheran and non-Lutheran.

The Augustana Synod was founded June 1, 1860 at Clinton (then known as Jefferson Prairie), Rock County, Wisconsin, under the name "Augustana Lutheran Synod."[1] This new church body on the American frontier was made up of thirteen Norwegian and thirty-six Swedish congregations with a combined membership of 4,967.[2] This union between the Norwegians and the Swedes came to an end ten years later in 1870. It was also in 1870 that the New York Conference, comprising the six New England states, the rest of the states along the Atlantic seacoast, and Ohio, was founded.[3]

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[1]Augustana comes from the Latin phrase, "Confessio Augustana" which was chosen to affirm the adherence of the new body to the unaltered Augsburg Confession.

[2]Oscar N. Olson, The Augustana Lutheran Church in America: 1860-1910--The Formative Period (Davenport, Iowa: Arcade Office and Letter Service, 1956), pp. 1-3.

[3]Eric Norelius, De svenska luterska församlingarnes och svenskarnes historia i America (The History of Swedish Lutheran Congregations and the Swedes in America) (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1916), II, 386, 395.

The first Swedes in the Boston area of which Synod history is aware came to Campello (Brockton) in the 1850's. Daniel F. Larson had come to this place in 1844 and had returned to Sweden. In 1851 he brought back to Campello a small group of fellow Swedes (to work in the shoe factories) who formed the nucleus of the Swedish colony that was to develop there.[1] During this decade a few Swedish immigrants also came to Boston. An attempt was made to organize a church in Boston. "A. V. Holmgren, a renegade [preacher] who made visits to Brockton in 1855 or 1856, . . . had previously attempted some form of church organization in Boston."[2]

It was not to be until the next decade, however, that the first permanent work in the Boston area could be established. This occurred with the organization of the church in Campello in 1867. Hence, it was not until nineteen years after the organization of the first Swedish Lutheran church in the Midwest in New Sweden, Iowa, and seven years after the organization of the Augustana Synod (1860) that the first work of significance was established in the vicinity of Boston.

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[1]Evald B. Lawson, "Sketches for the Family Album," 50 Years in New England, edited by Luther E. Lindberg (Published by the New England Conference of the Augustana Lutheran Church, 1962), p. 47.

[2]Ibid.

The comparative lack of activity of the Swedish Lutheran church in the Boston area was due largely to the sparsity of Swedish immigrants in the area. The figures of immigration would support this statement. In 1880, there were only 4,756 people born in Sweden who lived in Massachusetts whereas nearly 100,000 (99,150) were citizens in Minnesota, Illinois, and Iowa. Of these over 80,000 (81,591) lived in the two first mentioned states.[1] In 1880, there were in the Boston area only two Lutheran churches ministering to Swedish immigrants.[2] Ten years later, the Augustana Synod could claim a total of 611 congregations[3] but only six[4] of these were in the Boston area.

Before the Augustana Synod came into existence in 1860, there were Swedish Lutheran churches in the Midwest.

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[1] Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Census (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), pp. 494-95.

[2] Bethesda (now First) Lutheran Church at Campello (Brockton), organized 1867; and Emmanuel at 20 Emerald St., Boston, organized 1874.

[3] C. A. Swensson och L. G. Abrahamson, Jubel-Album (Jubilee Album) (Chicago: National Publishing Co., 1893), pp. 408-23, 448.

[4] In addition to Bethesda and Emmanuel, there existed the Swedish Lutheran (now Trinity) at Lowell, organized 1882; Salem at Quincy and Bethlehem Lutheran (now First) at Waltham, both organized in 1889; and Swedish Lutheran at Rockport, organized in 1890. The last of these is no longer in existence.

In 1851, these became a part of the Northern Illinois Synod when this group was organized as a part of the General Synod (established 1820). The latter was a large Lutheran organization which had already been greatly Americanized. This relationship of nine years was to have a significant acculturating influence upon Augustana.[1] Since, however, no churches of Augustana existed in New England until after this period of history, the churches of the Boston area did not participate in this earlier period of acculturation. Hence important differences existed between the Boston churches and the predominantly midwestern Augustana Synod as seen in their respective attitudes.

To be sure, the relation of the Boston area churches with the Augustana Synod was one of dependence. Upon the Synod these congregations relied for their ministerial supply, their worship and educational materials, much of their financial support, and their polity.

Yet their relationship was not one of acquiescence. There were significant differences of viewpoint. In theology and forms of public worship, the Boston area churches,

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[1]The thirty-six Swedish congregations which were organized into the Augustana Synod in 1860 had first been members of the Northern Illinois Synod of the General Synod. Several of these Swedish congregations had been a part of the Northern Illinois Synod since its beginning. See infra, pp. 99-105, 267.

on the whole, agreed with the Synod although in the latter instance, these churches of the Northeast tended to be more liturgical. In the area of architecture, the Synod in its midwestern center of strength was much more influenced by a "Puritan" or "Reformed"[1] type of architecture which the Boston area Lutherans were unwilling to accept.

There were several reasons why the Boston Lutherans were friendlier to the church in Sweden than the Augustana Synod. First, by the time of the later immigration (from which the largest number of the Lutherans around Boston came), the Rosenian or pietistic movement had largely run its course. It will be recalled that this pietism, dominant in early Augustana history, had bred hostility toward the church in Sweden.[2] In the absence of strong pietism in the Boston Lutherans, this attitude of conflict was also less pronounced.

A second and more positive factor was the type of leadership exerted upon these churches of the East. From 1886 to 1889, Conrad Emil Lindberg was president of the

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[1]It is interesting to note that the Boston area Swedish Lutherans employed the term "Reformed" to designate "non-Lutherans" from Lutherans and Roman Catholics. They accepted the European rather than the American way of identifying the various churches. See Franklin Littell, From State Church to Pluralism ("Anchor Books"; Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1962), p. 31.

[2]Supra, pp. 46-52.

New York Conference. He was born in Jönköping in southern Sweden. He came to America at the age of nineteen, in 1871.[1]

Lindberg received his theological education at the Lutheran Theological Seminary (Philadelphia), a school of the German Lutherans in America. Under the influence of C. P. Krauth and William J. Mann, he became a strict dogmatician "in the style of 16th century scholasticism."[2] Though he was not lacking in piety, his emphasis was also on the churchly. "He united in a remarkable way personal piety and churchly orderliness. . . . As time went on, . . . his churchliness became all the more pronounced."[3]

The character of his view of the churchly can be seen in a statement he made in 1884 as president of the New York Conference:

> The pure Lutheran faith truly is a stumbling stone. It is encouraging that most of the Reformed churches recognize Luther's great work which through the grace of the Lord he accomplished and the basic foundation of the Reformation which he built. Enemies of our synod and conference are found mostly among those who have fallen from the faith and

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[1]Johnson, Henry O. (ed.), Korsbaneret: Kristlig Kalender för året 1931 (The Banner of the Cross: The Christian Calendar for 1931) (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1930), pp. 242-43.

[2]O. N. Olson, The Augustana Lutheran Church in America: 1860-1910, p. 32.

[3]Johnson, p. 244.

> teaching of the Lutheran church. They seek to build pure congregations but even they have misfortunes.[1]

From 1918 to 1936, another strong president with the churchly emphasis led the New England Conference to which the Boston churches belonged.[2] He was S. G. Hägglund. Born in Sweden in 1874, he received his theological education in this country at Augustana Theological Seminary and was ordained in 1904. For eight years he served elsewhere in the Synod and in 1912 or 1913, he began his work as pastor of the Gloria Dei Lutheran Church in Providence, Rhode Island. While there he won the doctorate of philosophy at Brown University. In 1919, he moved to Dorchester, Massachusetts and became the pastor of the Vasa Lutheran Church.

From Sweden, he was influenced, not by Rosenius, but by Henric Schartau (1757-1825). At first influenced by the Moravians, Schartau later rebelled against them and became a strong preacher and teacher of doctrine. He was churchly and opposed to conventicles and lay preaching. He fostered good churchmanship by his stress upon the

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[1] Protokoll öfver förhandlingarne vid New York konferensens fjortonde årsmöte (Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the New York Conference), 1884, p. 11.

[2] The New England Conference was organized in 1912 by the separation of the congregations of the six New England states from the New York Conference.

employment of the prescribed liturgical and ceremonial forms.[1]

Shaped in his attitude as he was, Hägglund exerted a strong influence toward the creation of a more churchly view of the church in the East than was found in the rest of the Synod. To this distinction he gave clear utterance in his presidential report in 1926:

> We have believed ourselves to stand somewhat nearer to the Mother church in spiritual as well as the geographic sense than any other part of our Synod. The west has therefore considered us to be too high churchly and Swedish minded because we insist that our duty is to win and nurture all of our people for the Christian Church as it is done at home in our fathers' land.[2] (trans.)

A third reason why the Boston Lutherans were friendlier to the church in Sweden is hinted at figuratively in Hägglund's statement quoted above--the nearer geographic location of the Boston area to the old country than the rest of the Synod.

More important than this was the difference in attitude toward Sweden between the "old" and the "new"

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[1]Henric Hägglund, Henric Schartau and the Order of Grace, trans. S. G. Hägglund; S. G. Hägglund, "Types of Piety in the Augustana Synod--Schartauism," Augustana Quarterly (1928), pp. 335-41, quoted in Olson, The Augustana Lutheran Church in America: 1860-1910, p. 32.

[2]Förhandlingar vid New Englands konferens fjortonde årsmöte (Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the New England Conference), p. 10.

immigrant. This constitutes the fourth factor. The "old" immigrant, though lonely for the traditions of Sweden, had little desire to return. He remembered too well the economic hardships and even more, the social inequalities under which the immigrant had chafed.[1]

For the "new" immigrant conditions in Sweden had changed greatly. Social reforms which greatly relieved the causes for discontent among the "old" immigrants had been made. Sweden had also undergone a revival in literature and art. A noted author was Selma Lagerlöf who captured the imagination and heightened pride for Sweden by her employment of Swedish heroes and sagas.[2] All this developed a more positive attitude in the mind of the "new" immigrant.

Finally, there were influences other than that of Rosenius in the church of Sweden. One of these, that of Schartau, has been noted. Unfortunately, since Rosenian pietism has been the dominant shaping power in the history of Augustana, other religious forces have been treated inadequately. Yet, it becomes quite apparent that some of these other forces have also influenced Augustana's life. This is particularly true of the congregations in

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[1] Supra, pp. 24-29.

[2] Grindberg, pp. 374-76.

New England.

Drawing from Schartau, a high church movement began in the University of Lund about the same time as Rosenius began his activity in the 1840's. Its emphasis was upon the traditional Lutheran church forms and teaching. Its chief spokesmen were the able Gottfrid Billing and Pehr Eklund. The activities of this movement continued well into the twentieth century.[1]

Another important force was the influence of the University of Uppsala where Einar Billing and Nathan Soderblom taught. Both had been influenced by the Lundensian high church movement.[2]

Out of Uppsala came the Young Church Movement with its emphasis upon the church in Sweden for the people of Sweden. Its motto was: "The Swedish people a people of God."[3]

Another force was the deacons' movement where, under the guidance of the church, laymen served in the name of the church for the strengthening of its relation with the Swedish people and the deepening of the Christian life.[4]

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[1]Holmquist, pp. 52-56 [2]Ibid., p. 135.

[3]Ibid., p. 146. [4]Ibid., pp. 147-50.

It may be assumed that the influence of Schartau and the movements originated at Lund and Uppsala had a direct effect upon these "new" immigrants. Communication between the Lutherans in the East and Sweden was easily carried on and practiced. That at least the ministers knew of the movements in Sweden is shown in the presidential report of S. G. Öhman to the New England Conference in 1915.

> Archbishop Söderblom has taken the initiative whose brotherly intention should win general sympathy and understanding among us. In his high office, he represents a church which especially during the later years has shown a remarkable vital power and with deep penetration into the soul of the Swedish people and by new ways has moved into their personal and communal lives. I need only point to the deacons movement and the Christian youth movement [probably the Young Church Movement] among both laymen and learned, courses in the Bible, and many other new stirrings of life which show that the mother church with its alert and capable ministry truly is not now asleep to her great responsibility. To be sure, she must fight against great trends such as socialism, sectarianism, etc., but in great manner she will win yet still greater victories which can have nothing else but a healthful reaction on our own church work through continuing immigration which will supply us with repeated human resources. We would be wise, therefore, if we would pattern our work as nearly as possible after that of the Swedish church so that as the Swedish immigrant, sensitive and intelligent as he often is, may again recognize his church here and with a true sense of home, join himself to us.[1] (trans.)

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[1] Förhandlingar vid New England konferensens tredje årsmöte i Boston, Massachusetts (Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the New England Conference at Boston, Mass.), 1915, p. 10.

In this statement of Dr. Öhman, the predominant friendliness to the Swedish church as well as a sense of mission for the Swedish immigrant is clearly shown. For the Swedish Lutherans of this area (Boston and the rest of New England), it was Sweden rather than Augustana which supplied the more favorable pattern for church work.

(i) Theology

The theological outlook of the Boston Swedes was like that of the Augustana Synod. The founders of the Synod insisted upon the confessional basis they had known in the Lutheran church in Sweden. In the formation of the constitution the Midwestern Swedes exercised resistance against the so-called "American Lutheranism"--a type of Lutheranism influenced by religious practices in America.

The Synod of Northern Illinois which was formed in 1851 was in large part made up of Lutherans of German background. In turn, this Synod became a part of the older and larger group known as the General Synod which was organized in 1820. The General Synod had been deeply influenced by "American Lutheranism" whose chief exponent was S. S. Schmucker. Suspicious of historic Lutheran confessionalism, the advocates of this emphasis proposed a modification especially of the Augsburg Confession. Other emphases were: a denunciation of liturgical worship as formalism, adoption of revival methods, and encouragement

of personal piety as over against the confessional emphasis. This movement grew in strength especially in the thirties and the forties through its contact with a vigorous Presbyterianism and a warm Methodism.[1]

When the founders of the Synod of Northern Illinois met for the first meeting on September 18, 1851 in a Methodist church (Was this possibly selected by the proponents of "American Lutheranism"?) at Cedarville, Illinois, L. P. Esbjörn and his delegates had not yet arrived. A constitution was presented and approved the afternoon of September 18th. The second article read: "This regards the Word of God as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the Augsburg Confession as containing a summary of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion, mainly correct."[2] The last two words were to cause the difficulty.

On the next day, September 19th, Esbjörn with his companions arrived. He was not satisfied with the statement of faith. His request was granted that into the minutes should be inserted a declaration which included: "The symbolical books of the Lutheran church contain a

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[1]Wentz, pp. 137-140.

[2]Synod of Northern Illinois, Minutes, 1851, p. 7, quoted in Olson, The Augustana Lutheran Church: 1846-1860, p. 244.

correct summary and exposition of the divine word, wherefore we declare and adopt them as the foundation of our faith and doctrine, next to the Holy Scriptures."[1]

The phrases, "mainly correct" and "a correct summary" represent attitudes that are irreconcilable. This difference between "American Lutheranism" and historic Lutheran confessionalism was to be one of the chief reasons for the separation of the Swedish and Norwegian Lutherans from the Synod of Northern Illinois in 1860. At this time, however, in 1851, the Swedish Lutheran congregations which became a part of the Synod of Northern Illinois were to be influenced by nearly a decade of association with "American Lutheranism" before they broke away to form the Augustana Synod.[2] When the Augustana Synod formed its own constitution, the path of Lutheran confessionalism was followed. It is significant that the very document that became an acculturating force in the matter of polity for the congregations around Boston was the same instrument that had served as an opposing power against acculturation in theology in the Midwest.

Almost every pastor in his annual reports to the congregation measured the vitality of his people's

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[1] Ibid., p. 11, quoted in Olson, p. 245.

[2] See infra, p. 267.

faith by adherence to the seventh article of the Augsburg Confession which states:

> The church is the congregation of saints, in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the sacraments rightly administered. And to the true unity of the church, it is enough to agree concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments. Nor is it necessary that human traditions, rites, or ceremonies, instituted by men, should be everywhere alike. As Paul says: "One faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all," etc. (Eph. 4: 5,6)[1]

One could have supposed that the emphasis might have been on the quality of the moral lives of the people, or upon visible religious experience. The pattern of American Christianity would suggest such criteria. Such was not the case. It was rather the seventh article of the Augsburg Confession which was the touchstone by which Christian life was measured. Henning Jacobson (Waltham) wrote in his report to the congregation in 1894:

> If one would measure how great is the knowledge of sin and the need for grace in this congregation, then one only needs to note the number of those who attend the Lord's Supper for nothing else than personal consciousness of need for grace can induce a poor soul to come to the Lord's table. Since this is the measure of the spiritual life present in the congregation, there remains much to be desired, much to pray about. God gives us much grace.[2] (trans.)

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[1]"The Augsbrug Confession," Book of Concord, ed. Henry Eyster Jacobs (Philadelphia: The United Lutheran Publication House, 1911), p.39.

[2]"Svenska evangelisk-luterska Bethlehem församlingens protokollsbok (Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Bethlehem Congregation): 1889-1912," January 18, 1894, p. 30.

Twenty-five years later, his view had not changed as he wrote: "The celebration of the Lord's Supper is still an old and certain barometer of the congregation's spiritual relationship with its Savior."[1] (trans.)

Pastor E. J. Peterson (Waltham) wrote: "Their confession, who neglect the Lord's Supper, is very dangerous, because this shows that they do not realize their spiritual need and that they in unbelief deny the testament in Christ's blood."[2] (trans.)

Pastor C. Sigfrid Swenson's statement is representative regarding the dependence of the quality of the Christian life upon the belief affirmed in the seventh article of the Augsburg Confession:

> Remember that God promises his blessing only to the diligent, and the true diligence begins with being diligent around the Word and Sacrament. The better Christians we are, the better it shall go for us for whatever we undertake. But the more we stay away from the services; the poorer and worse Christians we become.[3] (trans.)

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[1]Svenska evangelisk-luterska Augustana församlingen, "Protokollsbok (Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Congregation, Minutes): 1915-1929" (Cambridge, Mass.), January 10, 1921, p. 115.

[2]Svenska evangelisk-luterska Bethlehem församlingen (Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Bethlehem Congregation), January 8, 1903, p. 175.

[3]Svenska evangelist-luterska församlingen, "Protokollsbok (Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Congregation, Minutes): 1907-1916" (Woburn), January 13, 1908, p. 26.

The congregations in the Boston area adopted the historic confessional stance of the Swedish founders of the Synod of Northern Illinois who in September of 1851 at Cedarville, Illinois had withstood the acculturating impact which had shaped "American Lutheranism." The confessional basis of Augustana Synod's constitution for congregations remained throughout the national body the criterion for theology. Here the churchly emphasis upon the objective and the sacramental as remembered from the European background is clear.

To assure the maintenance of this emphasis, the Synod maintained only one theological seminary. At the same time the Synod was organized, a theological seminary was established in 1860 at Chicago, Illinois. In 1863 it was moved to Paxton, Illinois where it remained until 1875 when it was moved to its present location in Rock Island, Illinois. This was the only seminary that body owned and operated for the theological education of its pastors.[1] Since with only rare exceptions, all the pastors serving Augustana churches received their training in this school, there arose throughout its ministerium a fairly uniform theological outlook.

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[1]On Jan. 1st, 1963, Augustana, with three other Lutheran bodies, officially became the Lutheran Church in America.

Since, in the realm of theology, there was no disagreement among the congregations of the Boston area, the Augustana Synod, and the church in Sweden, no conflict appeared at this point between the two American bodies of Swedish Lutheran immigrants. All accepted the three ancient creeds (Apostolic, Nicene and Athanasian), the unaltered Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism as normative statements of faith.

(ii) Uniformity of Worship

On the whole, there was agreement in the worship life between the rest of the Augustana Synod congregations and those of the Boston vicinity. As in their confessions and education, so the Augustana Lutherans including those of Boston looked to Sweden for their forms of worship. "It is interesting to note that while the Synod followed the American Lutherans in its organizational pattern, it adhered in its worship forms to the Church of Sweden."[1]

The Swedes who came first to the Midwest brought with them the Swedish psalmbok. They preferred the Thomander-Wieselgren version of 1849 to an earlier one (Wallin) which they considered to be infected with

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[1] Olson, The Augustana Lutheran Church: 1860-1910, p. 70. For a narrative of the development of the polity for congregations of the Augustana Synod see infra, pp. 274-88.

rationalism.[1]

As time went on, different conditions in America dictated a revised version. In 1901, for churches where English had been adopted, an English hymnal was published, but it was based on the order of services in the Swedish psalmbok. About fifty of its three hundred and fifty-five hymns were from the Swedish. The change was one of linguistics rather than liturgics. As long as Swedish services were conducted in these churches, the Swedish psalmbok remained the source for the orders of worship.

This adoption of the forms for worship from the Lutheran church in Sweden also occurred in the handbook for services employed by the pastor. Except for three or four minor changes, the entire handbook was used everywhere in the Swedish Lutheran churches of the Augustana Synod. "It is my opinion that in the matter of church worship and practices the early churches of our Synod were almost as conservative as in the matter of doctrine."[2]

Here also there was a difference between the churches of the rest of the Synod and those of the New England churches within whose boundaries lay the Boston

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[1] Ibid., pp. 71-73.

[2] Conrad Bergendoff, "The Cultural Heritage of the Augustana Synod," Augustana Quarterly, 14 (October, 1935), pp. 350-51.

area congregations.

In 1895, the Synod decided to make a change in the service book of worship. A new liturgical manual had been adopted the previous year by the church in Sweden. Augustana acted to adopt this order but with revisions from the liturgical usages given in the service book of the General Council (the American Lutheran church body with which Augustana held association).[1]

At its annual convention in 1896, the New York Conference moved that it "deplored the incompleteness of the Synod's new handbook."[2] The body went on to spell out this "incompleteness" in a longer resolution to change the "high mass ritual" in its shortened form to offer more "alternatives" and greater "richness." These alternatives included: the liturgist should turn to the altar for all general prayers; the congregation should stand for all responses, the collect prayer, the readings of scripture and, together with the minister, read the confession of faith; the congregation should stand for the benediction; the congregation should sing the three-fold amen after the evensong; and, while it preferred the Swedish handbook rubric which does not prescribe the laying on of hands at

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[1]Arden, Augustana Heritage, p. 200.

[2]Referat öfver förhandlingarna vid New York konferens: 26 te årsmöte (Reports of the Proceedings of the 26th Annual Meeting of the New York Conference), p. 24.

confirmation, whereas the Augustana revision allows freedom in this matter, the Conference hoped that uniform practice would be followed throughout the congregations of the Synod.[1]

There is no record that these proposals were accepted by the Synod. In any event, the churches of the Boston area together with their sister congregations of New England had shown their preference for the usages of the church in Sweden as over against the American revised version of the Augustana Synod.

(iii) Architecture

It was in church architecture where the Boston area Lutherans most severely disagreed with the rest of the Synod. They were more high church and could not accept what was in their minds low church or non-Lutheran architecture for their churches. In church design they were influenced by what they had known in Sweden.

In the Midwest, it was common for churches to be built along the so-called Reformed pattern.

> Whether it be Immanuel, Chicago; First Church, Rockford; Augustana, Minneapolis; or Andover, Illinois [all these are Midwestern]; when the larger church was erected, it was built with a chancel where the pulpit stood at the center, with a small altar below. For decades that was the preference in nearly all the large churches

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[1] Ibid., p. 66.

> that did so much to set the pace for the smaller parishes. Perhaps several factors contributed. The dominant churches of the American scene, whether they were the Congregational, Methodist, Baptist, or others were built with an exalted central pulpit. . . . In the city of Stockholm, Sweden, in the late nineteenth century, a great Lutheran free church had been built called Blasieholm with great galleries running around the entire sanctuary, the pulpit hanging in the center front from the first balcony. Below the pulpit was the altar from which the liturgical service was read.[1]

There seems little doubt that this type of architecture was associated with the non-Lutheran churches as the Swedes saw them in America. Instead of the pulpit in the center, the more churchly or liturgical churches placed the altar in the center with the pulpit off to one side. The midwestern Swedish Lutheran immigrants accepted the non-Swedish Lutheran architecture in America with relative ease. Not so with the Swedish Lutherans in the East.

In 1892, the Lebanon Lutheran congregation in North Easton built its edifice. For some reason, it adopted the Synod's pattern. One of the records says that "plans submitted by A. J. Niklason were accepted with a few changes." Niklason was a lay member of the church. Also, at this time and until 1897, there was no permanent pastor at

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[1]Clifford Ansgar Nelson, "Pulpit and Altar," Centennial Essays: Augustana Lutheran Church: 1860-1960, ed. Emmer Engberg et al. (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1960), pp. 182-83.

North Easton. Conceivably, as laymen, Niklason and others were influenced by churches in the area.

In 1897, A. M. Benander, Swedish-born, came to North Easton as the first resident pastor. During his ministry, a change was made of which Hilmer writes:

> The interior of the church was not in harmony with that of Swedish Lutheranism for here appears to have been an attempt to make a kind of compromise between Swedish and American church architecture with the pulpit back of the altar which was always somewhat unfortunate. Under Pastor Benander's leadership, this was changed in 1898 [or 1899. The church records seem to indicate a later date.] when a separate altar and pulpit were installed.[1] (trans.)

A. M. Benander in his pastoral report to the congregation wrote: "The awful Reformed furnishings were exchanged [this past year] for [something which is] truly churchly, Lutheran."[2] (trans.)

The significant fact about this situation at North Easton is not that a Reformed architecture was employed, but that in such a short time (within a decade), an immigrant group, limited in funds, could be persuaded to undertake a major remodeling project.

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[1]A. J. Hilmer, "Historik över svenska evangelisk-luterska Libanonsförsamlingen (The History of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Lebanon Congregation): 1892-1917" (North Easton, Mass.), p. 4.

[2]Svenska evangeliska-luterska Libanonsförsamlingen, "Protokollsbok (The Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Lebanon Congregation, Minutes): 1892-1907" (North Easton, Mass.), Jan. 15, 1900.

A second instance of a churchly attitude occurred at Somerville where the Gustaf Adolf congregation[1] purchased for its use, in 1925, the Park Avenue Methodist Church. Six years later, in 1931, the Somerville Lutherans completed a major project of interior rearrangement "according to the design they [the members] remembered from the architecture of the Lutheran church in Sweden."[2]

Looking back on the early history of the Synod, its first historian, Eric Norelius, wrote in his book published in 1916:

> That our Swedish immigrants would erect small, simple, and inexpensive churches in the early days could well be expected; but that they would deliberately make them so uncommonly ugly and uncomfortable in so many respects is a cause for downright amazement. . . . What influenced the immigrants more than anything else to erect prosaic and ugly church buildings was the fact that they were surrounded by American denominations whose churches were prosaic and ugly. The Puritan spirit prevailing so strongly in these churches completely dominated the architectural style of the times, and demanded that a church should be an oblong structure like a huge "shoe box," with oblong windows and a flat ceiling. On the back wall there must be a platform across the whole room on which the pulpit was placed with both sides open like a "saloon bar," with steps leading to it, and a bench against the wall behind it. When several preachers were present they would crowd in on this bench. . . . This was the church architecture of Puritanism, and the Swedish immigrants copied these patterns, and chanced thereby to create genuine

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[1] In 1937, the name was changed to Trinity and in 1952, to St. Paul.

[2] Gustav Anderson, "Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church," Somerville, Mass., p. 4.

> ecclesiastical monstrosities. They, nevertheless, felt that something was lacking, and they began surreptitiously to bring in altar rails, and a sort of table altar placed in front of the pulpit. But it took a good long while before they dared to peak the tower with a cross. You might know they did not want to be considered Roman Catholics.[1]

Although Norelius was among the early leaders of the Synod, he was the least affected by the Rosenian revival, uncompromisingly confessional, and ultra-conservative, and much opposed to interdenominational activities. In the sense that, like the New England Swedish immigrant, he was less affected by Rosenian pietism, he speaks the viewpoint later echoed by such as Hilmer and Anderson. In the study of the churches under consideration in the Boston area, only a few have had a "Puritan" form of architecture. In the few instances where it was found, changes were quickly forthcoming as has already been cited.

Whereas Norelius made a comparison between the earlier and the later churches of the Augustana Synod, S. G. Hägglund made the comparison not only on a time basis, but also on a geographic or regional one. He noted the difference between Augustana's churches in the East with those of the rest of the congregations of the Synod. In his presidential report in 1921, he suggests that church

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[1]Eric Norelius, De svenska församlingarnas . . . i America (The Swedish Congregations . . . in America), II, 251-52, quoted in G. Everett Arden, Augustana Heritage, p. 197.

architecture of the Midwest is more nearly like that of the East than was once the case.

> "The congregations of the East have forsaken God and have begun to build churches." So our older brothers in the faith of the Middle West used to say a couple of decades ago. Perhaps here and there in a lack of understanding this is still said today. But this is truly no proof God is forsaken when a congregation seriously and sacrificially labors to procure, if at all possible, for itself and its posterity a good, enduring, suitable, and churchly home. Nor is this without significance for the spiritual life that they seek to pay old debts and renovate the buildings of the congregation.[1] (trans.)

In his presidential report eight years later, Hägglund was specific as to the origin of what these churches in the East believed was the finest architecture. He was speaking of a recently erected church structure just outside the Boston area (Gloria Dei, Providence, Rhode Island):

> This church is a monument in brick and stone and will, we hope for a hundred years bear witness to Swedish Lutheran taste and piety. The Swedish architect ventured to go his own way and, thrown as he was on his own resources, believed our own churchly architecture to be the best tradition. With a sympathetic and diligent building committee working with him, he has succeeded in building an unusually beautiful little cathedral which has won remarkable recognition in our area, not least within the field of architecture. While the outer temple is not the all-important part of a Christian congregation, still God's Word deserves a beautiful

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[1] Förhandlingar vid New England konferensens nionde årsmöte (Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the New England Conference), p. 19.

> and costly temple, well pleasing to God, where His Spirit alone may dwell.[1] (trans.)

In this area as in others, the difference between the viewpoint of the Boston area churches and Augustana was clear. At the same time, the closer kinship of these churches in the East with the church in Sweden was likewise plain.

(2) Relation to non-Augustana Lutheran Churches

The relation of the Lutheran churches in the Boston area with non-Augustana Lutheran churches was on the whole very friendly. This was due to three reasons. In the first place, they were fellow brethren in the faith. Therefore, these congregations felt no threat from these groups. Rather, they sensed a source of support for themselves from these other Lutheran congregations.

Secondly, since these churches for the most part were not only non-English but also non-Swedish speaking, the Boston churches felt themselves unable to minister to their people although a few attempts were made to do so. They rather rejoiced that fellow Lutherans of a non-Swedish speaking background were being nurtured in the Lutheran faith by means of their own language.

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[1] Förhandlingar . . . New England-konferensens sjuttonde årsmöte (Proceedings . . . Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the New England Conference), 1929, p. 15.

In 1928, the Boston District[1] home mission committee considered beginning a congregation at Andover, Mass. Upon further investigation, it was decided to leave this work to the United Lutheran Church (of German background) since the majority of the Lutherans around Andover were German immigrants.[2]

Thirdly, the great majority of Lutherans in the Boston area were of Swedish extraction.[3] Therefore, no serious threat to their Swedish outlook was posed by the non-Swedish Lutheran groups in the area.

The point of greatest contact between these churches was in the use of the same buildings for worship. In 1890, Emmanuel congregation of Boston allowed the Danish Lutherans to use their building once a month without charge.[4] About the same time, when Emmanuel began

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[1]At this time, the Boston District included four churches in Maine, two churches in New Hampshire, and two in Mass. (for which no records are available) besides the eighteen congregations studied for this dissertation.

[2]Förhandlingar vid New England-konferensens sextonde årsmöte (Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the New England Conference), p. 25.

[3]This was dramatically shown in the merger of four Lutheran bodies (Danish, Finnish, German, and Swedish backgrounds) into the Lutheran Church in America which was consummated January 1, 1963. In terms of background, of the thirty-three churches in the Boston area (known as Eastern Massachusetts District), twenty are former Swedish, seven German, six Finnish, and no Danish.

[4]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1886-1916," p. 98.

work among the Swedish immigrants in East Boston, the building of the German Lutherans was rented one night a week at the rate of $5.00 per month.[1]

The Salem Lutheran Church at Quincy rented its building to the Finnish Lutherans of the community for a rental of $5.00 a month. The Finns were allowed the use of the facilities every other Sunday afternoon and, on alternate weeks, every other Monday evening.[2]

From 1906 to the end of the period under study, the Salem congregation, with the exception of two years, rented its building annually to the German Lutherans whom the Swedes affectionately called "trosbröder" ("brothers in the faith").[3] The rental charged was $10.00 per year, and the German "brothers in the faith" were given a key to the building.[4]

The Finnish Lutherans made a similar request from the Norwood church which decided to "ask $1.00 for the church from our Finnish brothers in the faith [trosbröder]

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[1] Ibid., August 10, 1891, p. 119.

[2] Svenska evangelisk-luterska Salemsföreningen, "Protokollsbok för kyrkoråd (The Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Salem Society, Minutes of the Church Council): February, 1911-November 7, 1926," (Quincy, Mass.), November 23, 1911, p. 23.

[3] "Kyrkostyrelse handlingar (Proceedings of the Church Board of Administration): 1906-15," January 18, 1906; 1929-39, January 8, 1931, p. 146.

[4] "1906-15," August 9, 1915.

each time they use the church."[1] (trans.)

The Trefaldighet (Trinity) Lutheran congregation in East Boston allowed the use of its facilities to the Norwegian Lutherans in 1906, but in 1914, ostensibly on the grounds of Trinity church's limited facilities and because of its many activities, it refused the Norwegians this privilege.[2] There was apparently no hostility between the two groups. In 1906 and again in 1920, the Finns were allowed the use of the building.[3] In another instance, when the East Boston group needed a larger building than its own, it was given the right to rent the one from the German Lutherans.[4]

There are only two instances in which attempts were made to combine Lutheran groups of different linguistic backgrounds. The Emmanuel congregation of Boston had first been called by the name of Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Church. The next year after its organization, early in 1875, consideration was given to changing the name to the "Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Immanuel Church in Boston."

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1906-15," November 17, 1906.

[2]"Protokollsbok över styrelsemöten (Minutes of the Board of Administration Meetings): 1902-27," February 26, 1906, pp. 132-33; February 10, 1914.

[3]Ibid., December 2, 1906, pp. 165-66; February 27, 1920.

[4]"Protokollsbok för ungdomsföreningen (Minutes of the Young Peoples Society): 1909-17," October 20, 1910.

(trans.) The suggestion was turned down for fear the change would discourage "our Norwegian and Danish brethren who are here from coming into our congregation."[1] (trans.) Within a short time, there was apparently a change in attitude because later that year the proposed change was carried through.[2]

The other attempt at such a union was made between the Bethlehem congregation of Waltham and a German Lutheran group. Only a bare statement is made that "if the Germans should ask again to be brought into the congregation, this request should be granted."[3] (trans.) Seemingly previous negotiations had failed to accomplish any such results and no later evidence appears that anything ever came of this.

The reason for this failure of the efforts at union between the various Lutheran groups was largely the language barrier. A common ministry among them would have been quite difficult. This was one of the reasons that impelled the Swedes to organize their own congregations in the first place and hence, these others were forced to organize their separate churches. Particularly was this

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1874-86," May 30, 1875.

[2]Ibid., December 12, 1875.

[3]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1889-1912," March 9, 1898.

true of the Germans who differed to a greater degree from the Scandinavians than did the Scandinavians among themselves.

As has already been noted, a comparatively small number of non-Swedish Scandinavians came to the Boston area. In most instances there were not enough to organize thriving congregations.[1] Instead, individual Scandinavians and a few Germans joined the Swedish Lutheran churches. Of the thirteen congregations for which such records were available, all included on their rolls one or more members of German background and many more Danes, Norwegians, and especially Finns.[2]

The relatively large number of Finns in Swedish Lutheran congregations was probably due to the close historical relationship between Finland and Sweden. This is particularly true of the Finnish islands of Åland which lie about midway between the two countries in the Gulf of Bothnia. Colonized and claimed by Sweden in the twelfth century, Sweden continued to govern this Finnish territory until 1714 when Russia under Peter the Great captured the

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[1]There was in the city of Boston only one Norwegian, one Danish, and one Finnish church, all in East Boston. The Finns did establish congregations farther out which still thrive at Gloucester, Maynard, and Quincy. Beyond here, churches were also established at Fitchburg and Gardner.

[2]From the "Medlemmarböcker" (membership books) of the congregations.

islands. Restored to Sweden in 1721, these islands once again became Russian in 1809 when, together with Finland, they were ceded to this Eastern European nation. After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 when Finland gained its independence, Åland requested reunion with Sweden. Finland denied this although great autonomy was granted the islands.[1]

This long history of contact with Sweden has developed a strong affinity of at least the Åland Finns to Sweden. They often call themselves "Swedish Finns." At least one of the congregations, Emanuel of Norwood, had a large number of immigrants from Åland. One of the questions asked in the interviews[2] was from which province or provinces in Sweden did most of the members come. Without hesitation, Mrs. Johnson responded: "Åland."[3] This was verified by the pastor, Raymond Kask.

(3) Relation to non-Lutheran Churches

A very different spirit prevailed in the relation between the Swedish Lutheran immigrants and non-Lutheran groups. At this point, the strong group consciousness of their Lutheranism (rather than their ethnic character)

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[1] "Åland Islands," Encyclopedia Americana, 1952, Vol. I, p. 309.

[2] See supra, pp. 11-14.

[3] Interview with Mrs. Carl P. Johnson, member of the Emanuel Ev. Lutheran Church (Norwood, Mass.), August 22, 1962.

emerges. Although in their local work, Swedish was retained, in some instances, they did not find Swedish among non-Lutherans a sufficient common ground on which to unite.

There was really little better relation between the Swedish Lutherans and the Swedish non-Lutherans than there was between the Swedish Lutherans and English non-Lutherans.

On the other hand, insofar as there were English speaking Lutherans, a sense of harmony with them was present. In 1924, when the Emanuel Church had moved from Boston to Roxbury and built its new edifice there, not only was "Pastor Thorsten" of the Danish Lutheran church invited to participate, but so also was "Pastor Miller" of the English Lutheran church.[1] No invitations for the occasion were sent to any non-Lutheran churches.

A more dramatic happening in regard to this fact occurred two years earlier in 1922. That year, the Gustaf Adolf congregation of West Somerville was organized. The work began under the ministry of a Swedish Methodist missionary, Albert Hallington. The fact he could speak Swedish to an all-Swedish language group was apparently the main reason for his engagement by the congregation.

But this connection between a Lutheran congregation and a non-Lutheran minister aroused the opposition

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[1]"Protokollsbok över styrelsemöten (Minutes of the Board of Administration Meetings): 1920-43" (Boston, Mass.), July 10, 1924, p. 73.

of the Augustana Lutheran Church in Cambridge. It officially protested to the New England Conference for engaging a Methodist minister to do mission work in Somerville "among our Lutheran people." The Cambridge congregation further stated that the issue was not over English because "we need just as many pure English congregations to serve all our people."[1] This statement is all the more significant in that the use of English was not a live question for, at that time, there was no intention of employing anything other than Swedish. What Augustana was thus in reality saying was: "We are ready to abandon the Swedish language but not the Lutheran faith." So effective was the disapproval of Augustana that Hallington was required to go to the Augustana Seminary for one year (1922-23) and be ordained a Lutheran minister before he could serve the Gustaf Adolf congregation.[2]

In his pastoral report to the Salem congregation at Quincy, John Norrby[3] stated the determination of the Swedish Lutherans to retain their faith against the inroads

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1915-29," March 20, 1922, pp. 177-78.

[2]Gustav Anderson, p. 2.

[3]John Norrby had changed his name from John Johnson to John Norrby. This was frequently done not out of shame for the Swedish names, but because so many people had the same last or family name with the characteristic ending of "son."

of American Protestantism:

> From the wealthy Americans we have received much help. Certainly we could have had more if with cowardly hearts we had thrown ourselves into the arms of the American Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists and Episcopalians, the last mentioned especially who worked their expansion against us. But our Lutheran Church wants to be a free church, free in the fullest and purest sense of that word. This Church has always sought to advance by its own hands. Obviously, this is lonely, but it is also certain that on this well-rooted ground, a strong structure of teaching will arise, immovable before the atmosphere of foreign teaching and limited by its self-willed thoughts. In our congregation are found able men with whom we can know ourselves to be strong, that we own the right to claim them as our own; such a one as the Swedish justice of the peace of this town who, through the popularity which he enjoys among Americans, has not neglected to see the opportunity to make our church work known to the exclusive English-speaking people; such a one as our building contractor who sacrificed so much time and strength for the sake of the church's interest, and all the others who did likewise and are too many for me to be able to name them all. Old and young, men and women have all worked for the upbuilding of our church and they can with feeling, parade with glad and noble strength, saying to one another as each Sabbath morning comes: "Let us with gladness go up to the rock, to our house of God, to that temple which was erected by us." Glad shall be our songs of praise to the highest glory if our worship sends its prayers to Him for whom in the farthest space all glory comes: "We only work; He gives the success."[1] (trans.)

Though a closer relationship among the various Swedish church groups may have been expected such was not the case. There was instead much bitterness. This was especially true between the Swedish Lutherans and the

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): January 30, 1889-January 26, 1911."

the Swedish Mission Covenant group.

The Mission Covenant group had separated from the Lutheran church in Sweden in the 1870's. The movement was an outgrowth of the pietistic revival. As long as Rosenius was in leadership, the pietists remained within the Lutheran church.

Following his death in 1868, the mantle of authority fell upon Peter Waldenström. A capable and talented man, he was less patient with the church situation in Sweden, and in 1878, the Swedish Mission Covenant group came into being. The great differences between the Swedish Lutheran Church and the Swedish Covenant were the latter's emphasis upon a subjective view of the atonement (somewhat similar to Abelard's); a Donatist view of the ministry; a critical view of such activities as dancing, drinking, liquor, and card-playing; and a free-church type of polity and worship.[1]

This conflict took place simultaneously in the United States. The Boston area was not spared, though, because of the small number of Swedish Lutheran churches in the vicinity at the time (only five were in existence before 1890), the disagreement was not as intense as

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[1]Hjalmar Holmquist, Fran romantiken till världskriget (From Romanticism to the World War), Vol. III: Handbok i svenska kyrkohistoria (Handbook of Swedish Church History) (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1953), pp. 88-98.

throughout the rest of the Synod.

Part of the conflict around Boston arose because of the scarcity of Swedish Lutheran pastors. This seems to have been the case at Lowell when, in 1879 and 1880, the Swedish Lutheran Society was served by the Mission Covenant ministers, J. G. Princell and George Wiberg. This was the society out of which the Swedish Lutheran Church of that city was later founded. In 1881 a fierce controversy arose, and forty-nine members organized the Svenska evangelisk-luterska församlingen in Lowell (the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church in Lowell). They adopted the 1870 edition of the constitution as recommended by the Augustana Synod. Others of the society withdrew and became adherents to the Swedish Mission Covenant outlook.[1]

A more severe conflict arose earlier in the Bethesda Lutheran church at Brockton. This arose not because of a shortage of pastors, but because of the presence of a Lutheran theological student studying at Philadelphia who served the church and was apparently becoming a Mission Covenant believer at the time. This was J. G. Princell who has already been mentioned. After his ordination, Princell served as leader of the Brockton group first as

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[1]Gilinson, pp. 1-2.

a student, beginning in 1871, and then as pastor for a brief time. After his failure to sever the congregation from Augustana, he resigned in November 1872.[1] It was at this time the Bethesda congregation reaffirmed itself as a church faithful to the Lutheran position. A later observer wrote: "[Princell was] a man of an eccentric character, selfish and domineering, erratic in his religious views [and one who] did not adhere to the Lutheran faith."[2] The followers of Princell were described as a group which "was opposed to all organization, creed, or constitution."[3]

Difficulties with the Mission Covenant church (also known as "Waldenströmian") were experienced at North Easton. The Swedish Lutheran church was not organized there until 1892, but preaching services were held in that place as early as the seventies. Pastor Anders Hult of the Lutheran church at Campello came to North Easton periodically and held preaching services there.

After Hult left Campello in 1878, the Waldenströmians began work in North Easton. A Swedish Congregational church was also organized about this time. No record of the success or failure of these groups is given in the

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[1]"Diamond Jubilee Album," pp. 19-20.

[2]Ibid., p. 19.

[3]Olson, The Augustana Lutheran Church: 1860-1910, p. 35.

documents studied, but the reaction of the Lutherans is described: "Several of them attended our Lutheran church in Campello as often as they could. At heart, they were Lutherans."[1] (trans.)

Some years later, after the Swedish Lutheran church had been organized, a Swedish Salvation Army congregation was begun. It, too, had little impact upon the Swedish Lutherans. "Our members [who did visit the church] soon became tired of the free meetings."[2] (trans.)

The Salvation Army was no better regarded at Waltham. "The Salvation Army, which for a short time tried to bombard our church, has now become a small breath of vapor which one sees once in awhile on the city street. Some of our unthinking young people were for awhile enticed to the Army but they saw the light and are now again in our pews."[3] (trans.)

Very likely the competition of the Salvation Army was not so small as the above words would indicate. The intensity of feeling against them thus expressed indicates

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[1]Axel C. H. Helander, "Historik över svenska evangelisk-luterska LibanonsförSamlingen (The History of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Lebanon Congregation): 1892-1912," (North Easton, Mass.), p. 2.

[2]Pastor A. M. Benander, "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1889-1912," January 7, 1897, p. 74.

[3]Pastor Wilhelm Ljung, "Protokollsbok: 1889-1912," January 7, 1897, p. 74.

that their influence counted for something. Along with this was a strong conviction that the Lutheran position was ordained of God before which other Christian groups must fall. Expressing himself still further about the Salvation Army, Pastor Wilhelm Ljung[1] wrote: "So is the truth reaffirmed that that which the Lord does not plant shall be uprooted by the root."[2]

The Methodists and others, according to the viewpoint of at least one congregation fared no better among the immigrants. "The Methodists and other sects tried to assemble the Swedes in Cambridge around God's Word but nothing came of it."[3]

That "nothing came of it" may have been so in the Cambridge situation. This cannot, however, be taken as a general truth about the area. A study of Swedish non-Lutheran congregations as well as a look at the transfers of Swedish Lutherans to English-speaking, non-Lutheran churches would indicate that some success crowned their efforts. The large number of persons with Scandinavian names who today hold membership in non-Lutheran churches is evidence to this fact.

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[1]Ljung came from Sweden, served in Waltham for five years and then returned. Infra, p. 250.

[2]"Protokollsbok: 1889-1912," (Waltham), January 7, 1897, p. 74.

[3]Jacobson, p. 9.

One of the most interesting instances of inter-church conflict was between these Swedish Lutherans and the Episcopalians. Differences between the Episcopalians and the Lutherans had arisen early in the history of Augustana congregations. In 1841, Gustaf Unonius emigrated from Sweden and founded a Swedish colony in Pine Lake, Wisconsin. Unonius was attracted to the Episcopal church through its school in nearby Nashota. He organized an Episcopal congregation at Pine Lake and hoped to persuade Swedish Lutherans in that vicinity to join his church. The attempt ended in a separation. A group withdrew from Unonius and established a Swedish Lutheran church.[1]

From Wisconsin, Unonius went to the Swedish colonies in Illinois at Andover and Chicago. He had no more success there in his attempts to establish an episcopacy among the Swedish Lutherans who had been influenced by pietism. Their animosity to episcopal polity is shown in relation to Unonius' unsuccessful efforts to practice episcopacy among them:

> In the summer of 1849 Gustaf Unonius had been in Andover and held a communion service in the open which he describes in a romantic manner. His Episcopal vestments and ceremonies were not likely to impress those who would not tolerate Esbjörn's wearing the garb of the Swedish Lutheran church or

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[1]Olson, The Augustana Lutheran Church in America: 1846-1860, pp. 59-62.

> use the Swedish ritual for fear of bringing them again under the yoke of a State Church.[1]

The nature of the conflict between the Episcopalians and the early Augustana Lutherans was, however, different from the conflict of the Boston area Swedes with the Episcopalians. In the case of the former, the difference arose from a hostility to the episcopal form of polity. This was not so with the Boston area Lutherans. They had no suspicion of episcopacy; they were actually friendly to it. Their complaint was rather on the grounds of proselytism. Episcopalians were using the episcopal form of polity to the disadvantage of the Swedish Lutherans in the Boston vicinity in order to draw Swedish immigrants away from Swedish Lutheran congregations. Since the Episcopalians practiced a polity similar to the church in Sweden, they had an advantage over the Boston Swedish Lutherans who, because of their association with the Augustana Synod, were governed by a congregational and representative type of polity.[2] Hence, the Episcopalians could make a strong appeal to the newly arrived immigrant from Sweden.

But the Episcopalians went even farther. When in 1911, Pastor John Norrby of Quincy noted that the

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[1] Ibid., p. 124; infra, p. 268.

[2] For a narrative of the development of the polity for congregations of the Augustana Synod, see infra, pp. 274-88.

"Episcopalians . . . especially . . . worked their expansion against us," he was sharing the concern felt throughout the Boston District.[1]

In 1889, C. E. Lindberg noted that in Providence and in Boston the Episcopalians were drawing Swedish Lutherans to their congregations by claiming the Episcopal church in America was identical with the church in Sweden. Lindberg deplored the fact that the Lutheran churches in the area were without bishops. In face of that, he proposed that the church in Sweden be petitioned to inform the Episcopal church in the United States about the genuine Lutheran character of the Augustana Synod.[2]

Eight years later, more specific action was taken. In his report to the convention at Brockton of the New York Conference (of which the Boston Lutheran congregations were then members), the president, Gustaf Nelsenius, said (April 18, 1907):

> The Boston District protests against the surrounding sects which more and more imitate us in churchly order and usages so that they might thereby win proselytes. This is especially true of the Swedish Episcopalians who continually use the Swedish pastor's robe, handbook, and psalmbook at their services. Therefore, a committee of pastors has been named by this district and has been charged to

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[1] "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1911-1928."

[2] Referat öfver förhandlingarna vid New York-konferensens mittonde årsmöte (Official Reports of the Nineteenth Annual Convention of the New York Conference), p. 10.

> take up this matter with the Bishop [William Lawrence] of the Episcopal church of Massachusetts. In addition this district now petitions the Conference in an official way to properly rebuke and correct this unlawful practice which continually preys upon us.[1]

Another aspect of the relationship between the Swedish Lutherans and the non-Lutherans in the area is evoked by the question: "How were the Swedish Lutherans regarded by the surrounding community?"

There does not appear to have been any great hostility toward them. A certain lack of understanding of the immigrant mentality by the more settled populace probably caused the Swedes some suffering. Americans seemingly could not understand why these Swedish Lutherans insisted upon organizing their own congregations when it would have been so much easier to ally with churches already established.

In a more particular way, there was at least one instance of identifying a certain strangeness with the Swedish Lutherans which worked to their disadvantage. Pastor C. A. Lindevall (1901-1904) of Lynn with Pastor N. E. Kron (1899-1902) of Woburn attempted to raise money among the Americans for work among the Swedish Lutherans in the vicinity. But they found it difficult because the

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[1] Förhandlingar . . . New York-konferensens . . . trettiosjunde årsmöte (Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the New York Conference), pp. 11-12.

the Americans believed "the Lutheran Church to be but one step removed from the Catholic Church." When Lindevall and Kron tried to explain the teachings and practices of their church, they were told that instead they ought to join the American churches, that it was "idiotic" to build a church and try to maintain separate congregations.[1] (trans.)

A later observer wrote:

> It is not yet popular in Lynn to be a Lutheran. It would have been easier financially to have placed ourselves under the ministry of a Reformed congregation. [Yet] we cannot but rejoice that we have confessed the faith of our fathers in a foreign land and have shown it to our children and others.[2]

A more thorough knowledge of the Swedish attitude toward Roman Catholicism would have dispelled such an association in the American mind. One student of American immigration argues that one reason for the strong Republicanism of the immigrants from Sweden was in part due to the refusal of the "fiercely anti-Catholic Swedes to ally themselves with Irishmen in the Democratic Party."[3] At least one of the congregations sponsored a lecture by a convert from Roman Catholicism against that faith.[4]

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[1]C. A. Lindevall, "A Historical Sketch: 1901-1904" (Lynn, Mass.: October 15, 1936).

[2]Uno Fahlbeck, "Svenska Luterska Bethesda församlingens i Lynn, Mass. historia" (History of the Swedish Lutheran Bethesda Congregation of Lynn, Mass.) (n.d.), p. 2.

[3]Jones, pp. 166-67.

[4]Emmanuel, "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1886-1916" (Boston), February 14, 1889, p. 100.

The opposition to the non-Lutherans was based on two grounds: the theological and the liturgical.

(i) Theological Grounds

Among the theological issues, one of the chief was the nature of the Word of God. From the Waltham congregation came the complaint that the Reformed churches accepted only so much of scripture as would "conform with human reason."[1] N. E. Kron (Woburn) wrote:

> One should not run here and there as the unstable do but each and every one ought to attend his own services for in this way, he gets to hear the whole of God's Word. Especially is this so in our Lutheran church where, during the church year, the texts are so arranged that the clearest presentation of the order of salvation is given during the year.[2] (trans.)

Other issues over which differences appeared were the nature of man, the nature of the sacraments and man's need for them, the atonement, and sanctification. Pastor Axel Andrea wrote:

> Our Swedish Lutheran people are in danger of getting a bad influence from the reformed congregations and obtaining an unchurchly understanding. They celebrate the Lord's Supper only as a memorial meal of the Lord's suffering and death and baptism is a beautiful custom they give to their children. Thus many give up their heritage to baptize their children in this way.
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> Now may we always bear in mind our Lutheran doctrine that the Lord's Supper and baptism were

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[1] Infra, p. 144.

[2] "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1893-1906," January 13, 1902, p. 111.

> instituted by the Lord Jesus himself and that the visible bread and wine are the means through which the Lord gives us heavenly gifts. Jesus says to the Christian: "You are the light of the world." But such lights are we not by nature. By nature are you darkness and no light is found in you. But through the sacrament of baptism God lights in man the spiritual light and through the preached word and the Sacrament of the Altar the light is nurtured so that you "no longer walk in your former darkness but now are light in the Lord."[1] (trans.)

On the doctrine of atonement, A. M. Benander reported that one of their members during the previous year had joined the Swedish Free Church. This was likely the Mission Covenant or a body that was closely related in thought to the Covenant.[2] Since the doctrine of the atonement was one of the chief points of conflict between the Waldenströmians and the Swedish Lutherans,[3] it is not surprising that the issue arose in this context. Pastor Benander wrote:

> We need this word of the apostle [I Cor. 1:23] well inscribed in our hearts in a time such as ours when, from most of the Protestant pulpits in our land, everything else but Christ crucified is preached. They speak beautifully of Christ as man or teacher but they do not like to proclaim

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1913-28" (Waltham), January 9, 1914, pp. 22-23.

[2]There was a group known as the Swedish Evangelical Free church. It was organized by Princell who was excluded from the Mission Covenant after he was deposed by the Augustana Synod. The Free Church was much more congregational than even the Covenant but in doctrine, it was quite similar. See Stephenson, pp. 287-88.

[3]Supra, p. 124.

> the crucified Christ. Yet it is this most precious apostolic word that our Lutheran Church owns. She rests solely upon Christ's death and propitiation.[1]

Finally there was conflict over the meaning of sanctification. The Lutherans had been criticized for the seeming ineffectiveness of the rite of confirmation. For this battle, Pastor E. J. Peterson took up the gauntlet:

> One hears the criticism from our indifferent church people that the fruit of confirmation is very poor. Perhaps such have heard American missionaries say that and so it has to be so. For if an Englishman or an American says black is white, then sure enough the Swede believes that. The fruit of confirmation is so obvious to the eye that it need not be emphasized. We see it in our congregation, in other of our Lutheran churches, yes, in short in the Lutheran Church today with its 70,000,000 members as a fruit of confirmation.[2] (trans.)

(ii) Liturgical Grounds

The other ground for resistance to non-Lutheran groups was on the basis of liturgy. New England, as well as the rest of America, was conditioned to a predominantly non-liturgical type of worship. The accusation against the Swedish Lutherans was that they were "but one step removed from the Catholic Church."

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[1] "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1917-36" (North Easton), January 19, 1925, p. 108.

[2] "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1889-1912" (Waltham), January 7, 1904, pp. 198-99.

The forms of worship in Sweden had been in large part retained from the pre-reformation liturgies. The Lutheran church in Sweden even used the term "högmässa" (high mass). This term was retained by the Swedish Lutherans around Boston. An instance of this is shown in the decision of the church at Malden in 1925 that the wording of the announcement of their Sunday worship be changed from "high mass" to "service."[1]

The Swedish Mission Covenant church exploited this impression at least in Lynn. This denomination could emphasize its free form of worship which appealed more to the American temperament than the liturgy of the Swedish Lutheran church.[2]

But the Swedish Lutherans were not going to abandon what had become so rich in their worship life and which was being taught to their children. "From experience we know that they who from childhood have become accustomed to our Lutheran worship cannot feel at home in a reformed church with its poor ritual."[3] (trans.)

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[1]Salems evangelisk-luterska församlingen. "Protokollsbok över styrelsemöten (Minutes of the Board of Administration Meetings of the Salem Evangelicial Lutheran Congregation): 1924-38" (Malden), October 6, 1925, p. 31.

[2]Lindevall, "Historical Sketch."

[3]Pastor Axel Andrea, "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1913-28" (Waltham), January 11, 1926, p. 216.

Writing of the Lutheran liturgy which to him possessed a compelling beauty, Pastor Henning Jacobson (Cambridge) wrote:

> Be satisfied with our beautiful, full-toned ritual, our truly beautiful, impressive, melodious, and majestic psalms, our permanently beloved gospels and epistles: you could never with any other compensate for these, nothing better could you put in their place, no other church has anything more advantageous to offer which would be more impressive, pleasing, inspiring, or recreative; for our church teaches loftiness and shows and points only forward, upward, yes, homeward.[1] (trans.)

In all of these relationships, it has been shown that the Boston area congregations remained faithful to their churchly Lutheran point of view.

ii. Their View of Mission

In the introductory chapter of this dissertation, it was noted that a basic reason for choosing this topic was the view of mission which these congregations held. Between 1867 and 1924 a number of congregations including the eighteen here studied had been organized. This was ostensibly done to minister to the Swedish Lutheran immigrant. Yet, after 1924, not a single new congregation was founded for almost two decades, When in 1942, a congregation was established in North Quincy, the view of mission had radically changed. Now these Lutherans saw their mission as a ministry to an American community rather

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[1]Jacobson, January 1, 1900, p. 64.

than an ethnic group.

(1) The Ethnic Character of Their View of Mission

Throughout the period of 1867-1930, the Swedish Lutheran congregations in the Boston vicinity preserved almost intact their view that they were to minister to Swedish Lutheran immigrants and to them alone. Dr. Hägglund in his presidential message in 1923 wrote:

> Others may have other fields and greater callings but we are called to seek and to serve our Swedish American people . . . and we thank God for such an important and holy commission.[1] (trans.)

Four years later, he wrote: "We now have 23,000 confirmed members and 7,000 baptized members and just as many Swedish Lutherans who seldom or never visit our churches."[2]

There were good reasons for the pastors to hold this churchly position. Not least of these was that this view was dominant in the mind of the Swedish immigrant. It is true that many of them did not join a Lutheran congregation (part of the reason being due to the great difference between the church-state situation in Sweden and the separation of church and state in America). However, in America, if these immigrants did not join another

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[1] Förhandlingar (Proceedings) . . . , p. 11.

[2] Förhandlingar (Proceedings) . . . , p. 10.

denomination, they still considered themselves Lutherans. They depended upon the Lutheran church as they had known it in Sweden to be responsible for all Swedes.

This is shown by a study of congregational books on membership and ministerial acts. Following are the tables of four churches of different age and size as representative of this churchly responsibility for all the people of a particular ethnic background.

These figures show that a larger percentage of the people served were non-members. They sensed the need of group preservation by depending upon the congregation in terms of the folk church which they remembered from Sweden. But they refused to ally themselves in the only way that was possible in America--voluntary support and responsibility. Pastor Axel Andrea (Waltham) assessed the situation thus:

> As in the state there are more laws to hold the members together, so it is in the State Church. And we Swedes who are brought up in that church are prone to do only what the law demands. Then, when we come to a free church, a great many of us do nothing more than we have to. Therefore many of them do not come to the services or do their duties to the congregation. Thus are found hundreds with this marking: dropped, stricken out.[1] (trans.)

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1913-28," January 9, 1914, p. 18.

TABLE 1

BAPTISMS ADMINISTERED IN EMMANUEL, BOSTON; BETHESDA, LYNN; EMANUEL, NORWOOD; AND VASA, DORCHESTER[a]

Church	Years	Number of non-member parents	Number of parent members	Percentage of non-member parents	Percentage of parent members
Emmanuel	1874-80	464	148	76	24
	1881-90	1564	330	82.5	17.5
	1891-1900[b]	804	148	84.5	15.5
	1901-10	517	85	86	14
	1911-20	488	90	84.5	15.5
	1921-30	269	99	73	27
Bethesda	1901-10	310	106	74.5	25.5
	1911-20	204	30	87	13
	1921-30	101	37	73	26
Emanuel	1905-10	144	98	59.5	40.5
	1911-20	430	168	58	42
	1921-30	68	114	37.4	63.6
Vasa	1919-30	51	62	59.5	40.5

[a]Scandinavian Lutheran Augustana Synod, Records of Ministerial Acts (Rock Island, Ill.: Joshua Hasselquist, 1886), "Svenska evangelisk-luterska Emmanuel församlingen: (Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Emmanuel Congregation): 1874-1889" (Boston, Mass.); ibid., 1901-1907; _____, Records . . . , "Svenska evangelisk-luterska Bethesda församlingen (Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Bethesda Congregation): 1897-1923" (Lynn, Mass.); Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod in North America, Records . . . (Lutheran Augustana Book Concern, 1886), "Svenska evangelisk-luterska Emmanuel . . . (Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Emmanuel . . .): 1908-36; _____, "Svenska evangelisk-luterska Emmanuel församlingen (Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Emanuel Congregation): 1905-30" (Norwood, Mass.); _____, Records . . . (1918), "Svenska evangelisk-luterska Bethesda . . . (Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Bethesda . . .): 1923-30; _____, Records . . . , "Svenska evangelisk-luterska Vasa församlingen (Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Vasa Congregation): 1919-30" (Dorchester, Mass.); "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1912-59" (Lynn); "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1907-22" (Norwood).

[b]No records from 1894 to 1901.

TABLE 2

MARRIAGES PERFORMED BY CHURCHES SHOWN IN TABLE 1[a]

Church	Years	Number of non-members	Number of members	Percentage of non-members	Percentage of members
Emmanuel	1901-10[b]	1061	69	93.9	6.1
Bethesda	1912-20[c]	8	4	66.7	33.3
	1921-30	32	14	69.5	30.5
Emanuel	1907-10	54	30	64.3	35.7
	1911-20	52	14	75.7	24.3
	1921-30	16	14	53.3	46.7
Vasa	1919-30	149	33	81.8	18.2

[a]Sources same as for Table 1.

[b]Records are incomplete.

[c]Records are incomplete.

TABLE 3

FUNERALS PERFORMED BY CHURCHES SHOWN IN TABLE 1[a]

Church	Years	Number of non-members	Number of members	Percentage of non-members	Percentage of members
Emmanuel	1874-80[b]	37	16	70	30
	1881-90	56	33	63	37
	----	--	--	--	--
	1901-10	51	18	74	26
	1911-20	165	47	78	22
	1921-30	122	47	72	28
Bethesda	1897-1900	12	3	80	20
	1901-10	85	9	90.5	9.5
	1911-20	76	18	81	19
	1921-30	55	24	69.5	30.5
Emanuel	1906-10	15	12	55.5	44.5
	1911-20	26	16	62.7	37.3
	1921-30	22	23	48.7	51.3
Vasa	1919-30	52	45	53.5	46.5

[a]Sources same as for Table 1.

[b]Records missing or unreliable between 1886 and 1901.

Thus, not only the concern of the pastors to serve the Swedish immigrants in the language and the faith they knew, but also the churchly view of that faith held by the immigrants themselves created the view of mission which prevailed among the Boston area churches. This was stated by Pastor Henning Jacobson (Waltham) in an elaborate brochure.

> To mingle with the American churches presupposes a knowledge of the English language, and this they [the Swedish Lutheran immigrants] have not got. Still there is no foreigner coming to this country that is more apt and earnest in the endeavor to acquire the English language than the Swedish people. Give us time to bridge the chasm that is between us; let the rising generation that are [sic] now growing up in our public schools attain manhood and womanhood, having acquired an American education, and we shall no longer hesitate to adopt the English language in our churches.[1]

It might be pointed out that there were Swedish language churches among other denominations such as the Baptists, Congregationalists, and Methodists which the immigrants could have joined. They were kept from doing so by their Lutheran faith. Jacobson wrote further in the

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[1]The Swedish Lutheran Bethlehem Church, "Souvenir of the Bazaar," (Waltham, Mass., 1894), p. 7. The tolerant attitude of Pastor Jacobson toward the English language was more akin to that of the founders of the Synod three decades before than to the attitude of the typical New England Swede. This tolerance may be due in both instances to the fact that in 1860 and in 1894, the heavy immigration had not yet come, or was just beginning to come, to these respective areas. See supra, pp. 32, 56. As immigration increased, tenacity toward the Swedish language also increased.

brochure:

> The greater number of American churches are of the Reformed Protestant type, and the Lutheran Church is "The Protestant Church." She has not protested certain Scripture passages because they do not conform with human reasoning, nor against the Scriptures as a whole. Neither against any one particular church as a church, but against all the corrupting interpretations and meanings that some have taken liberty to put on the teachings and sayings of Jesus Christ and the doctrine of the early church, and by introducing various implements, ways and means unto salvation not recognized by Scripture. In short, she has protested and today still protests, against all sacrilegious intruders on the holy ground of Scriptures.
>
> In this church our people have been brought up, and from early childhood they have been taught that Jesus has atoned for our sins, and that His atonement was a "Satisfactio Vicaria" before God, and that He is the foundation and the chief corner-stone unto salvation; that through Him we are justified by faith; that deeds without faith and faith without deeds are dead; that there is an eternal punishment to shun, and an eternal salvation to gain; that the rejection of the grace of God through Christ Jesus is a death in sin and unbelief; but that the accepting of this free and unmerited grace is the entering into a new life, a walk on the divine paths, a departing from death, and at last an eternal abode with Him in heaven. Every Reformed church has conditionally accepted the Scriptures as God's Word.[1] (trans.)

A more hostile viewpoint was expressed by N. E. Kron, pastor of the Lutheran Church at Woburn:

> Our poor countrymen are tempted by American gold to throw over their childhood faith. Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians--all seek to entice the Swedes to themselves under the notion that Sweden is hardly a Christian land. "Give up your faith," they say to the Swedes, "and we will help you in your financial stress." Americans have a

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[1] Ibid.

> low regard for Swedish Christianity and when then, which sadly enough is the case, various of our beloved countrymen, dazzled by this American gold lightly throw over their father's faith, the American is all the more convinced that the Swedes are an unchristian people. Therefore, the American considers it his duty to have missions among our scattered countrymen. . . .
>
> There are American congregations which spend greater sums of money for their mission among Swedish Lutherans than for missions in Africa. Sometimes we read reports of American missions in the large cities among Chinese, Swedes, Italians and other kinds of people. Think what an honor for us Swedes to be placed together with Chinese and Italians!
>
> Sweden by God's grace is the most enlightened land under the sun. The Swedes have in former times suffered and died for their faith. Gustaf Adolf shed his blood on Lutzen's field. But how many countrymen sell their birthright for gold. So they honor old Sweden, so they honor, so they reward the old sacrifices. But do you think the Lord will not help those who remain with their fathers' heritage? Most certainly. Or where can there be found a single Swedish Lutheran Church in the East that has disappeared in its battle with poverty. During that time many sectarian congregations have succumbed to the difficulties of American freewill support. We know which of our Lutheran folk who love and sacrifice for their faith. The Lord has blessed our mission work richly in this part of the country.[1] (trans.)

This statement of Pastor Kron's sets forth the zeal with which these Swedish Lutheran pastors pursued the task of gathering the Swedish immigrants into their congregations; but it also indicates quite clearly that their efforts were not as successful as they might wish. Too many were joining other churches. That this was so is suggested by the report

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[1] Svenska evangelisk-luterska församlingen, "Protokollsbok (Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Congregation, Minutes): 1893-1906" (Woburn), January 8, 1900, pp. 84-85.

of the president to the New England Conference in 1916: "The total membership including children in our congregations of the New England Conference is still only 25,000; but the total number of Swedes in New England long ago reached 125,000 and has now greatly passed that figure."[1] (trans.) Kron's utterance together with these figures indicate an impatience on the part of some of the Swedes with the brakes they may have felt the church was putting on acculturation. There may also be the suggestion here of a significantly different attitude toward acculturation between the pastors and the laymen.

(2) The Scope of Their View of Mission

Although the view of mission was restricted ethnically to one people, for these people their view of mission was of a wide scope. Of primary concern was the establishment of congregations, but in addition to this, these immigrants saw the need to minister to other needs by means of congregational auxiliaries, eleemosynary agencies, and pronouncements on social and moral issues.

(i) Congregational Auxiliaries

In all the congregations, a number of auxiliaries arose. This was a significant departure from the church

[1] S. G. Öhman, Förhandlinger vid New England konferensens fjärde årsmöte (Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the New England Conference), p. 17.

in Sweden. Such organizations were not a part of church life there. The one exception to this was the sewing society which came out of the pietistic movement in its concern to raise funds for education, evangelistic work, and missions.[1]

In America, these Swedish Lutheran congregations saw the value of such organizations as a force to attract and hold the Swedish immigrants. Auxiliaries would provide both the financial means necessary to the maintenance of the congregations and opportunity for social life which would capture a still larger area of their interest. Consequently, their loyalty would also be stronger to their congregations.

As each congregation developed, these societies multiplied. The first to be organized were usually the women's groups and Sunday schools. These were followed closely by youth organizations. The youth groups went beyond the local societies and formed the very active Boston District Luther League. Toward the end of this period under study, men's auxiliaries were also established.

These organizations often were used for the purpose of raising money. A more important function, however, was their provision for social activity. The congregations

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[1] Infra, p. 256.

recognized this as a need which it was their mission to fulfill.

From an anniversary booklet of the church at Norwood the following statement is taken: "Social functions have played an important part in the continued success of the [Luther] League."[1] Speaking in a more comprehensive manner, A. J. Hilmer includes the social purpose as one of the objectives of the auxiliaries of the church: "They have their great value not only to gather money for the maintenance of the work of the church which is very important but also for social interest and to hold the congregation together in an outer way."[2] (trans.)

(ii) Eleemosynary Agencies

The immigrant faced needs beyond his power to handle. Loneliness, old age, illness, death threatened him and appeared more grim in the strangeness of America than among his acquaintances and within his family is Sweden. The threat of illness and death was also heightened for the immigrant beyond that of the native. Oscar Handlin writes that the immigrant was lonely and that his loneliness

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[1]Emanuel Lutheran Church, "Fiftieth Anniversary: 1898-1948."

[2]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1917-36" (North Easton), January 20, 1930, p. 178.

had two dimensions--"the breadth of unfamiliarity" and "the painful depth of isolation."[1] The immigrants were unfamiliar not only with the language of the land but with the ways of doing things.

When the Augustana congregation decided to obtain a doctor for Deacon Axel Anderson, Pastor Jacobson was delegated to find one. He, however, had to depend on "Mrs. Tournis" and 'Mrs. Hinklie" who obtained "Dr. Garnett."[2] The non-Swedish names suggest that unfamiliarity both with language and source of medical knowledge demanded the use of such intermediaries. From such "breadth of unfamiliarity" was but a step to "the painful depth of isolation." In the face of sickness and death, these dimensions of the immigrants' loneliness were greatly intensified.

It is, therefore, not strange that the Swedish Lutherans, first in local congregations and then as similar congregations, would come together that they might in union marshall greater strength against these threats to health and life.

The Augustana Aid Society.--According to the available evidence, the Augustana Aid Association was founded in

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[1]Handlin, The Uprooted, pp. 104-105.

[2]"Diakoners sekreteraresbok (Deacons' Secretary's Book): 1902-11" (Cambridge), August 28, 1905, p. 68.

1905.[1] This was preceded by a number of local organizations, the earliest of which seems to have been formed in Emmanuel, Boston. At a meeting in 1887, the congregation decided to contact other Swedish Lutheran churches about forming a sick benefit society. It was further agreed that if such failed, the congregation would form its own local organization.[2] Subsequent annual reports show that a local organization was formed.

In 1904 the Waltham congregation formed its sick and burial benefit society with a well structured constitution. This seems to have been the pattern of the larger organization from evidence gleaned out of minutes of other local chapters. Among the provisions were:

> to be a member, one must be a Lutheran, though not necessarily of the local congregation and he must be of high moral character (Art. III, Sec. 1); to become a member required the signature of a Lutheran pastor (Art. V, Sec. 5); no aid would be given one who had become ill through self indulgence (Art. II, Sec. 1); if the Society should pass any provision contrary to Lutheran teaching, it would be invalid (Art. XII, Sec. 3); should the society

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[1]Early books of the Augustana Aid Association are not available. However, in the minutes of the local chapter of Quincy for July 11, 1930 (p. 137), it is reported that a twenty-fifth anniversary supper of the district society had been observed. This would mean the Aid Association had been formed in 1905. "Sjuk och begravningshjälp föreningens rapporter (Reports of the Sick and Burial Benefit Society): 1909-30."

[2]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1886-1916," February 24,

disband, its property would revert to the Waltham congregation (Art. XI, Sec. 1).

Careful safeguards against unrightful use of the benefits were set up such as no benefit to be paid for the first week's illness (Art. V, Sec. 4) or for the first three weeks in the case of women who had gone through childbirth (Art. V, Sec. 2).

Fees were: initiation, $2; 50¢ per month for plan A (which allowed $6 per week benefit); 25¢ per month for plan B (which allowed $3 per week benefit). (Art. IV, Sec. 1; Art. V, Sec. 1). Burial benefit was to be sufficient to provide a dignified burial. (Art. VI, Sec. 2).

In 1907, a chapter was organized in Malden.[2] Available records show that in 1909, four more local chapters were formed.[3] In 1923, the first mention is made of the existence of such a local chapter in Gethsemane (Montello).[4] In the year 1929, there were from the area congregations eleven chapters enrolled in the "Boston och Worcester distriktets av New York[5] konferensen av

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1889-1912," March 21 and 28, 1904, pp. 215-24.

[2]"Kyrkostämmas protokollsbok (Minutes of Church Meetings): 1907-1918," January 21, 1907, p. 3.

[3]In the congregations at Cambridge, Lynn, Quincy, and Woburn.

[4]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1923-30," January 17, 1923.

[5]At the time the district association was formed, the Boston area churches belonged to the New York Conference. In 1912, the six New England states were separated from it to form the New England Conference. Förhandlingar vid New York-konferens fyrtioandra årsmöte samt New England-konferens första lagtima möte (Proceedings of the Forty-Second Annual Meeting of the New York Conference and the First Official meeting of the New England Conference) (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concerns Tryckeri, 1912), p. 109.

Augustanasynoden sjuk och begravningshjälp förening" (Sick and Burial Society of the Boston and Worcester Districts of the New York Conference of the Augustana Synod better known as the Augustana Aid Association). They were Boston, Cambridge, East Boston, Everett, Lynn, Malden, Montello, Natick, Quincy, Waltham, and Woburn. The total membership was 463, and the financial resources amounted to $8,411.63.[1]

This association was active to the very end of the period under study. For example, at Christmas time, 1930, the Quincy Augustana Aid Association gave five dollar bills to each of nine individuals or families. To five families were given baskets of food, each one containing one four and one-half pound chicken, one-half peck potatoes, one turnip (three pounds each), four pounds apples, one quart cranberries, one bunch celery, two pounds onions, one loaf Swedish rye bread, one-half pound butter, one package raspberry jello, two pounds sugar, one dozen oranges, one basket, and one jar cranberry jelly.[2] The Swedes have always made much of Christmas. Hence, the Aid Society gave help to fellow countrymen who because of financial difficulties could

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[1]"Sjuk och begravningshjälp föreningens rapporter (The Sick and Burial Benefit Society): 1909-30" (Quincy), July 12, 1929, p. 121.

[2]"Sjuk och begravningshjälp föreningens rapporter (Reports of the Sick and Burial Benefit Society): 1909-30," p. 143.

not otherwise have had their usual holiday festivities.

The Aid Association with its various chapters served an important need. Through the years of its existence, it enjoyed financial strength, possessing adequate resources to meet its obligations.[1]

Emigrant and Seamen's Home.--There is some confusion in the historical documents as to when the Emigrant and Seamen's Home began. In 50 Years in New England it is stated: "The Seamen's Home in East Boston was the earliest concern (1873) of the Conference in the field of social mission."[2] This date seems to be inaccurate. On June 30th, 1903, there appears in the minutes of the board of administration (East Boston) the record of a discussion as to whether an emigrant home should be founded in connection with the congregation.[3] In 1904, the congregation in Waltham contributed to the support of such an institution.[4] This indicates the Home was organized in East Boston in compliance with the earlier discussion of the governing

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[1]The Association was finally dissolved only as recently as November, 1962. Interview with Carl Franzen, member Augustana (Cambridge), February 1, 1963.

[2]Lindberg, p. 22.

[3]"Protokollsbok över styrelsemöten (Minutes of the Board of Administration Meetings): 1902-27," p. 51.

[4]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1889-1912."

board of the congregation in that city. In 1905, the congregation in Woburn also sent money for its support.[1] Before these dates, there is no record of the existence of such an institution. Yet, the Waltham congregation as early as 1896 sent money to a similar home in New York[2] as did the Quincy congregation also.[3]

It seems unlikely that these churches would not have contributed to the Boston Home if it had been in existence rather than send money to a more distant institution in New York. After 1904, the Home in East Boston is a regularly listed beneficiary of the congregations in the area.

One explanation for this apparent error in 50 Years in New England would be confusion with the work of the first pastor in Boston, Dr. Carl F. Johansson. An article in this same book but written by a different author, states:

> The history of Emanuel church dates back to September, 1873 when a missionary pastor was sent to Boston to work among Swedish seamen. He also worked among the immigrant families, who were without a pastor, and remained their pastor for forty years.[4]

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[1]"Kassabok (Treasurer's Book): 1898-1920," pp. 40-147.

[2]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1889-1912."

[3]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1889-1911."

[4]Lindberg, p. 45.

It appears that the discrepancy is here resolved and that the first statement quoted in 50 Years in New England would have been correct if the phrase "work among seamen" instead of "Seamen's Home" had been used.

This institution was the responsibility of the Boston District. In 1927, the East Boston records state that two delegates were sent to a meeting in Boston to decide whether the Emigrant and Seamen's Home should be taken over by the New England Conference.[1] No change, however, seems to have taken place during the period of time under study. The minutes of the Conference for 1930 show no decision to do so nor is the institution listed as a New England conference beneficiary.[2]

By 1930, the mission to Swedish seamen and immigrants at the point of entry was declining. The main reason for this was the passage of immigration laws beginning in 1921. The law of 1921 stated that "the number of aliens of any nationality who may be admitted . . . [shall be restricted] to 3% annually of the number of foreign born persons of such nationality resident in the United States as determined by the United States census

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[1] "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1917-36," October 2, 1927, p. 149.

[2] Förhandlingar vid New England konferensens adertonde årsmöte (Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the New England Conference), 1930.

of 1910."[1]

This quota did not seem to restrict greatly the number of Swedes who desired to come to the United States. In 1924, 18,310, the largest number since 1911 (20,780), came to the States.[2] In 1924 a second law was passed which greatly reduced the number from Sweden. This law stated that no more than two per cent of the number of foreign born individuals of any nationality resident in continental United States as determined by the census of 1890 could come to that country.[3] As a result, emigration from Sweden fell from the high of 1924 (18,310) to 8,391 in 1925.[4] The figure remained in the eight thousand millenium until 1930 when it dropped to 3,109 and in 1931, to 1,298.[5]

The need for an emigrant home was past. It may have ceased to function about 1927. In that year, the Norwood congregation lists the institution as "Seamen's Home."[6] Yet, during the years of operation, the concern for their own by the Swedish Lutherans around Boston was shown.

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[1]Kulischer, p. 468. [2]Willcox, I, 391, 393.

[3]Kulischer.

[4]United States Department of Labor, p. 222, Table 84.

[5]Ibid. [6]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1922-41."

The Children's Homes.--The appeal of needy children tugged strongly at the benevolent spirit of these Swedish Lutherans. Particularly was the condition of children without homes a pathetic one. Occasionally, an illegitimate child born of a Swedish girl would be in need of such an institution. The case of the orphan or motherless children was a major responsibility for the children's home. According to Pastor Hilmer, many mothers died young. He tells of several instances where the father with three or four young children with perhaps one in arms "stood in grief around the casket."[1]

The first home to receive support from the Boston area churches was the Gustaf Adolf Home in Jamestown, New York. The records show that the various churches gave to this institution from their yearly benevolent expenditures.

As the churches grew in number, the need for a home closer to Boston was felt. In 1906, property was procured at Avon, Massachusetts.[2]

The Home at Avon became a regular beneficiary of all the churches. Not only was its cause among those in the regular church budget, but also the children of the

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[1]Interview, August 14, 1962.

[2]Lindberg, p. 23.

Sunday Schools, as the records show, gathered funds which gave additional valuable support to the work.

The annual Labor Day picnics at Avon were more than social events. These were also money-raising affairs. By the second decade of the twentieth century, these picnics had grown in size to quite an impressive enterprise. For example in 1916, $495.42 was raised for the Home.[1] The money was obtained at the picnic by the sale of badges, pennants, ice cream, tonic, and a variety of food.[2] Interest in the Home remained high throughout the period under study.[3] In 1911, thirty-six children were cared for in the Home.[4] In 1930, forty-five received the ministry of this institution.[5]

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[1]Boston distrikte svenska evangelisk-luterska ungdomsförbundet, "Protokollsbok (The Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Young People's Society of the Boston District, Minutes): 1901-19" (Boston, Mass.), January 26, 1918, p. 195.

[2]Boston distrikts svenska evangelisk-luterska ungdomsförbundet, "Protokollsbok över styrelsemöten (The Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Young People's Society of the Boston District, Minutes of the Board of Administration Meetings): 1901-24," July 25, 1916, pp. 131-32.

[3]This work was discontinued in 1959. Lindberg, p. 23.

[4]Förhandlingar vid New York konferensens fyrtioandra årsmöte samt New England konferensens forsta lagtima möte (Proceedings of the Forty-second Annual Meeting of the New York Conference and of the First Regular Meeting of the New England Conference): 1912, p. 114.

[5]Förhandlingar vid New England konferensens nittonde årsmöte (Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the New England Conference): 1931, p. 37.

(iii) Pronouncements on Moral and Social Issues

The Boston area congregations met the moral and social issues in a somewhat less structured manner than they did the social and eleemosynary needs of their members. To be sure, in the beginning, discipline was exercised against those who transgressed the moral code of the church. This will be treated more fully in the next chapter.

Pronouncements were made regarding the right of women to vote,[1] war,[2] and temperance. It was on the last of these issues that these congregations especially displayed the scope of their mission concern. In 1910, the president of the New York Conference, F. Jacobson, warned the members of the congregations against membership in temperance societies as well as brotherhood and relief organizations. His main criticism was that these groups met on Sundays, thus, in his mind, corrupting the sabbath day.[3]

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[1]Several congregations petitioned for the right of women to vote in congregational meetings. In 1911, this privilege was granted. See A. D. Mattson, Polity of the Augustana Synod (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1941), p. 298.

[2]E.g. The Waltham congregation petitioned the president and congress to maintain neutrality. See "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1913-29," September 23, 1915, p. 56.

[3]Förhandlingar vid New York konferensens fyrtionde årsmöte (Minutes of the Fortieth Annual Meeting of the New York Conference), p. 15.

This does not mean that the congregations were opposed to temperance, but rather that all work to achieve this should be done under the guidance of the church. In 1913, S. G. Öhman in his presidential report to the conference advised against membership in temperance societies on the ground that Christ had never founded any such. He had rather founded the church through which the Gospel was to be preached. The power of this would work temperance in the lives of people.[1]

(3) Evidences of Acculturation

This view of mission remained quite intact until 1930. A few breaches became evident in the last decade of this period under study. The change was seen, for example, in the beginning of adult confirmation classes signifying that the isolation of the ethnic view of mission was beginning to give way. In the Lutheran church, adult confirmation classes are conducted for those adults who wish to become Lutherans. The normal procedure for a Lutheran in Sweden (as in other continental Lutheran countries) was to be born, baptized, nurtured, and then, around the age of adolescence (cir. 13-15), to be confirmed.

The adjective "adult" generally refers to one who is confirmed in the Lutheran faith after the age of

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[1] Förhandlingar: New England-konferensens första årsmöte (Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the New England Conference), pp. 13-14.

adolescence. Intermarriage, persuasion by mission outreach of the congregations, and friendships with Lutherans were probably among the reasons that drew people into the adult classes. The Quincy congregation in 1924 reported the formation of an adult confirmation class.[1]

In 1925, of fifteen who had been confirmed in the Gethsemane congregation (Montello), seven were adults.[2] It was the following year the motto, "Every member get a member" was chosen. This same congregation reported two adult confirmation classes for 1929 and 1930.[3] In 1930, the Waltham congregation recorded its first adult confirmation class which numbered six.[4]

A break-through of this view was also made by the congregations as they began to engage publicity through American media. The very earliest record of the employment of American publicity media is the announcement of congregational activities in the Malden News.[5]

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1911-28," January 15, 1925, p. 179.

[2]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1923-30," January 20, 1926.

[3]Ibid., January 1, 1930.

[4]First Evangelical Lutheran Church, "Minutes of Congregational Meetings: 1929-45," January 13, 1930, p. 2.

[5]"Kassabok (Treasurer's Book): 1897-1944" (Malden), n.d., 1918, p. 74.

In 1927, the Gethsemane congregation (Montello) published advertisements in the two local papers for the purpose of announcing that worship was conducted in the English language. Other activities were also printed in these newspapers. That same year, this congregation gave a rendition of Handel's Messiah in the city high school. The results were looked upon as gratifying. "Today many people know something about the church which has been hiding itself for a number of years."[1]

In 1929 or 1930 (the record is not explicit as to which year), the congregation in Lynn published a tract entitled: "An Invitation to You from the Bethesda Lutheran Church." The cover is in English, but the inside reading material is given in both Swedish and English. The back lists the auxiliaries and the time of meeting. For those that appeal to the Swedish-speaking people, the information is in Swedish; for the remainder, English is employed.[2]

An interesting innovation occurred at Augustana (Cambridge) in 1925. A bulletin board was placed outside of the church for the express purpose of publicizing the

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1923-30," January 18, 1928.

[2]In the archives of the First Lutheran Church, Lynn, Mass.

church to the surrounding community. This was the first record of such a medium of publicity and was in all probability adopted from American churches.[1]

By 1930, the way of isolation as a means of group preservation was beginning to give way before the forces of acculturation. Pastor John E. Nelson of Waltham in the fortieth year (1929) of the congregation's existence wrote:

> By the grace of God the Lutheran church is going to "possess the land" and do her God-given share in the Christianizing of America. As Lutheranism has been a blessing to the Old World, it will also prove a blessing to America.[2]

Two years before he wrote:

> Ours is the only Lutheran church between Cambridge and Natick and I believe it is our God-given call to long for the salvation of our fellowmen whether or not they have Viking blood in their veins. My thoughts are that we should open the doors of our new church for brothers in the faith of non-Swedish ancestry.[3]

While these evidences of acculturation were present in 1930, it can be said that to this date, the Boston area churches had quite successfully preserved their view of mission. Only in isolated instances was the view departing

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1915-29," January 29, 1925, p. 245.

[2]First Evangelical Lutheran Church, "Fortieth Anniversary Bulletin: 1889-1929."

[3]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1913-29," January 10, 1927, p. 240.

from its sole concern for Swedish Lutheran immigrants; and even in some of the instances where concessions were being made, the concern for the Swedish immigrant was still primary. In their own minds, these Swedish Lutherans were not interested in propagating the faith among Americans, but in maintaining it among Swedish Lutheran immigrants and protecting the faith as they knew it from the forces of acculturation in America.

iii. The Swedish Language

One of the strongest struggles for the preservation of their background revolved around the issue of the Swedish language. These Boston Lutherans were only partially successful in this effort. The areas where they did succeed will be described in this section. The areas where they failed in the struggle to preserve Swedish will be observed in the next chapter.

(1) A Comparison with the Augustana Synod

It is important to note that here too a difference existed between the Boston area congregations and the rest of the Synod. It was to Sweden these Boston immigrants looked for their culture as well as their churchly view.

George Stephenson writes:

> Some persons have detected degrees of resistance to Americanization among the immigrants according

> to provinces: they have said, for example, that the natives of Västergötland have more [resistance] than the Smålänning and Värmlänning."[1]

Stephenson, however, tends to believe that this degree of resistance may rather be due

> to the fact that the former have settled in great numbers in the East, where immigration is more recent and the population more concentrated [hence, more of a corporate defensiveness against the surrounding American and alien community] and where the läsare tradition has not been so strong. The democracy of the West had made assimilation easier.[2]

Probably no one person was more intent on retaining the Swedish language than Dr. S. G. Hägglund, the third president of the New England Conference of which the Boston area churches were a part. As late as 1930, he was one of several who organized the Swedish Lutheran Society devoted to the purpose of keeping alive in worship the language of the Swedes. He argued there was as much justification for such an organization as there had been for the association of English churches which was founded in 1908.[3]

Around 1920, Hägglund was instrumental in establishing another society, the "Svenska National Förbundet." This was organized on a somewhat broader base, incorporating Swedish organizations as well as congregations. Its

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[1]Stephenson, The Religious Aspects . . . , p. 426.

[2]Ibid. [3]Stephenson, p. 455.

chief objective was to maintain the Swedish language and customs. This group was responsible for the care of important Swedish church and state personages and would use these occasions to conduct large meetings.[1]

Pastor Theodore Hjerpe who served as a pastor in Bellingham, Washington and Riverside, California was convinced from his experience in these western congregations of the Augustana Synod that English must be employed in the work of the church. It was with this view in mind that he came to Roslindale. It was his hope to establish bi-lingual services in a community he believed was sufficiently Americanized for such a program. In a form letter to the residents of the surrounding community where the Messiah Lutheran Church was to be established, Pastor Hjerpe wrote: "The Swedish and English languages are used alternately at the divine worship services."[2]

But when Hjerpe attempted to make the change to English too rapidly, he was opposed by the president of the New England Conference (Dr. S. G. Hägglund). It is Pastor Hjerpe's considered opinion that the delay in the

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[1]Interview with Theodore Hjerpe, retired pastor of Messiah Lutheran Church (Roslindale, Mass.), January 2, 1963. Pastor Hjerpe organized this congregation in 1924 and continued as pastor until 1937. He was born in Sweden in 1866 and came to America in 1902. Educated in America, he was ordained with a B.D. from Augustana Seminary in 1916.

[2]February 23, 1924.

adoption of the English language obstructed the work of the congregation in Roslindale.[1]

This conflict between the greater devotion to the Swedish on the part of the Boston Swedish Lutherans and the greater willingness on the part of the Augustana Synod to adopt the English was dramatized at the meeting of the Synod in national convention, 1920. The proposal was made that English should be made the official language for conventions and reports. Ander Nilsson, lay preacher in the congregation at East Boston, was one of the New England Conference delegates that year. He brought back in his report an account of the response to this proposal:

> [It was argued that this change would be] to take a false step and representatives of the East especially believed that the time was not yet here when we could serve our countrymen better in English than in Swedish. . . . With an overwhelming majority, the proposal was voted down. . . .[But] Synod decided that all reports hereafter should be printed for distribution in English as well as in Swedish.[2] (trans. italics mine.)

It has been generally accepted as fact by historians and leaders of the Synod that the East (New York and New England areas) resisted the longest the adoption of the English language. "Use of the Swedish language was

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[1]Interview, January 2, 1963.

[2]Svenska evangelisk-luterska Trefaldighets församlingen, "Protokollsbok (Minutes of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Trinity Congregation): 1902-27" (East Boston), June 24, 1921.

maintained the longest in the East and in certain mid-western sections among the later immigrants."[1]

Gene Lund writes of a distinguished leader in Lutheranism:

> Dr. P. O. Bersell thinks that one can truthfully speak about the New England Conference's "lost generation," a loss incurred primarily because the congregations and the leaders of this conference were too Swedish, too exclusive, when Augustana began in this area.[2]

With such devotion for the Swedish language, these immigrants made fervent efforts to provide instruction for their children in this language. In the early years of the Swedish Lutheran churches in the Boston area, it was almost as important for the children to learn Swedish as the Christian faith. In fact, the Sunday school helped to fulfill this function. In the personal interviews conducted in connection with this dissertation, two of the second generation respondents said their knowledge of the Swedish language came primarily from their Sunday school experience.[3] These persons were too young to have benefitted from the Swedish day schools, but the Swedish

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[1]Olson and Wickstrom, p. 38. [2]P. 155.

[3]Interviews with Mrs. Delbert Lawson, member of Bethlehem Lutheran Church (Everett), July 26, 1962 and Mr. Carl A. Anderson, formerly member of Trinity Lutheran Church (East Boston), now of Augustana (Cambridge), August 13, 1962.

language was still employed in the Sunday schools of the congregations to which these respondents belonged.

But it was believed that Sunday school alone was insufficient to teach the Swedish language.

> If we love our Swedish language and our Lutheran doctrine and wish that the children of our members should have this heritage, then it is not enough with Sunday school. We also ought to have Swedish day school. I myself held such during the years of 1912 and 1913. A total of twenty came. In 1914 we had the good fortune to procure an able teacher, Candidate Martin Swanson from Augustana Theological Seminary but only six or seven showed up so that after only one week, the school was discontinued.[1] (trans.)

It was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain interest in the Swedish language day schools. Yet, in the minds of the immigrants, there was still a close relationship between Lutheran faith and the Swedish language.

Around the turn of the century, the identification of the Swedish language with the Lutheran faith was even more explicit. The very survival of the faith seemed to rely on the maintenance of the Swedish language. J. A. Bernard wrote:

> The children of the congregation have need of a basic instruction in the Swedish language, not only for the sake of the language itself but that the rising generation may be participants in the spiritual nurture of which the Swedish language is bearer. We have not nurtured our children right if for the sake of the language they must

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[1]Axel Andrea, "Protokollsbok (Minutes): - 1913-28" (Waltham), January 6, 1916, pp. 60-61.

> reject the faith of their fathers. The question of language and the question of faith must be better handled so that there will not be the same costly and bitter experience as with the Swedes in New Sweden [the Delaware Colony of the seventeenth century]. We recommend to the congregation to arrange for instruction for the children next summer.[1] (trans.)

It was this close identification between faith and language which made so intense the determination to maintain these schools. Three hundred letters were sent by the Quincy congregation urging parents to send their children to the Swedish summer school.[2] As late as 1925, Pastor A. J. Hilmer was disturbed because "our homes do not appear to have either the mind or the interest to teach the Swedish language as a part of their life's work in the beautiful vineyard of the Lord."[3] (trans.; italics mine.)

Pastor William Ljung argued for such summer schools "to allow them [the children] to acquire greater knowledge and skill in Christianity and the Swedish language."[4] (trans)

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1889-1911" (Quincy), p. 125.

[2]"Protokollsbok för kyrkorådet (Minutes of the Church Council): 1911-26," May 10, 1917, p. 64.

[3]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1917-36" (North Easton), January 19, 1925.

[4]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1889-1912" (Waltham), January 4, 1900, p. 132.

One of the faithful Sunday school superintendents reported: "I can with joy report that they [the Sunday school teachers] do their best to instruct the children both to read Swedish and to instruct them in Christian knowledge and that hereto the Lord has helped us."[1] (trans.)

At the same time, a subtle shift in emphasis is detectable. At first Swedish was taught as a means by which the Christian faith was to be communicated. Now instruction in Christianity was given in order that the Swedish language might be learned. Pastor Hans Pearson reported that in the summer school, both Christianity and Swedish were taught and that those who attended this school were much better equipped to handle the father language than those who attended only Sunday school.[2] The omission of any mention as to the effectiveness of the latter school in communicating Christian knowledge is significant. Pastor Axel C. H. Helander wrote that he was especially glad that instruction in the Sunday school and the confirmation class was bearing such rich fruit in the Swedish language.[3]

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[1]Charles Anderson, "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1915-29" (Cambridge), January 14, 1918, p. 61.

[2]Svenska evangelisk-luterska Getsemanesförsamlingen, "Protokollsbok (Minutes of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Gethsemane Congregation): 1910-22" (Montello, Mass.), January 19, 1916.

[3]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1908-16" (North Easton), January 20, 1914, p. 107.

This shift from teaching Swedish for the sake of Christianity to instruction in Christianity for the sake of the Swedish language demonstrates the close relation between the language and the religious faith of these people. Language is a vehicle of culture, and the abandonment of the language poses a serious threat to the preservation of a cherished cultural heritage. It was on this ground that S. G. Hägglund as president of the New England Conference wrote in 1929:

> It is sad that many parents apparently do not lift a finger to give their children as a heritage the most beautiful language of all human tongues upon the earth. Circumstances are such that we must naturally more and more employ the language of the land. The Gospel, God be praised, is bound to no particular language; yet, there is much else that is lost if we neglect or reject our cultural vehicle. Let us everywhere take seriously our congregational schools.[1] (trans.)

Of the eighteen churches studied, twelve of them at some time conducted Swedish summer school. It is significant that these twelve were among the fourteen which came into existence before 1910. The two others (Everett and Malden) may also have held such, but records for these two congregations were among the least complete of the congregations involved in this project. Or, these congregations may never have had such a school since they were

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[1] Förhandlingar (Proceedings), p. 12.

among the smaller, weaker churches and often without pastors for long periods of time.[1] The other four congregations (Natick, Dorchester, Somerville, and Roslindale) which had no summer Swedish school were all established after 1910. Vasa Lutheran Church of Dorchester attempted to start such a school in 1921 but without success.[2]

By 1920, only four churches (Boston, Cambridge, Quincy, and Norwood) were continuing these schools. These were among the strongest congregations in the area. After 1926, with the discontinuance of this educational activity in the congregations in Boston and Cambridge,[3] no more Swedish summer schools existed in the Boston area.

These schools were later replaced with the Vacation Bible Schools which were taught in the English language. This was in keeping with the practice of other

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[1]The congregation in Everett was without resident pastors during the following periods: 1897-1903 and 1911-15; the congregation in Malden had no pastor between 1897-99, 1901-1906, 1912-14, and 1919-28.

[2]Svenska evangelisk-luterska Vasaförsamlingen, "Protokollsbok (Minutes of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Vasa Congregation): 1919-29" (Dorchester, Mass.), March 23, 1921.

[3]"Protokollsbok över styrelsemöten (Minutes of the Board of Administration): 1920-43" (Boston), July 6, 1926, p. 101; Jacobson, January 24, 1927.

Protestant churches.[1] As early as 1923, the church in Lowell established such a school six years after its last summer school of Swedish instruction had been held.

(2) Relative Success in the Preservation of Swedish

Although the Boston area congregations were less successful in the preservation of their language than they were in that of their churchly view or the view of mission, they were still able in 1930 to point to significant areas in their church life where Swedish was yet employed. All of the churches still used some Swedish in their Sunday worship. Of the eighteen congregations, twelve of the pastoral reports were written in the Swedish language at the end of the period under study.[2]

These churches succeeded in preserving the Swedish language longer than any other area of the Augustana Synod. In 1928, the president of the Association of English Churches[3]

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[1]S. G. Hägglund attributed the beginning of the American Vacation Bible School to the Swedish day school. "Many of the Reformed churches have begun to follow our method in holding summer school." Förhandlingar . . . New England konferensen (Proceedings . . . New England Conference), 1927, p. 14.

[2]Based on a study of the minutes of the eighteen congregations of the Boston area.

[3]Organized in 1908 within the Synod by congregations desirous of establishing the English language as the language of the churches. See Olson, The Augustana Lutheran Church in America: 1860-1910, p. 45.

wrote: "Now Synod and all save two conferences [there were thirteen in all--twelve in the United States and one made up of the churches in the Canadian provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Ontario] conduct their business almost entirely in English."[1] The two conferences referred to were those of New England and Canada.

The difference between New England and the rest of the Synod becomes still sharper when the dates of abandonment of Swedish as the language in which the annual minutes were printed are compared. By 1925, ten of the twelve conferences were using English for the printing of the entire record of the annual conventions. The New York conference was one of these.[2] Hence to say all the Augustana churches of the Atlantic seacoast were slower in the language transition than the rest of the Synod would be incorrect on this basis. New England was different.

Furthermore, five of the conferences and the Synod adopted this practice as early as 1921.[3] On the other hand, the minutes of the New England conference were not

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[1] Nothstein, p. 343.

[2] I am indebted to Pastor Joel W. Lundeen, archivist, Lutheran School of Theology (Rock Island campus), Rock Island, Ill. for obtaining this information upon my request.

[3] This date, so close to the end of World War I, probably indicates the accelerated acculturation exerted upon most of the Swedish immigrants by the war.

printed entirely in English until 1932 or more than a decade later.

Although the Swedish language had been preserved in large measure in the Boston area churches, significant inroads had been made. And the trend was obvious. In 1928, S. G. Hägglund, the dominant defender of the Swedish language, was forced to write in his presidential report in commenting upon the increasing practice of holding two services, one in Swedish and the second for the children in the English language. "This means, naturally, when the congregation rapidly and deliberately changes over to the use of English for the public worship, it is impossible that the Swedish is being nurtured in the home and Sunday school."[1] (trans.)

Since there were already significant areas in which English was being employed, the language question will also be treated in the next chapter where consideration will be given to those elements of their heritage which the Boston area churches abandoned.

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[1] Förhandlingar . . . New England konferens (Proceedings . . . New England Conference): 1928, p. 14.

CHAPTER V

ASPECTS OF THE SWEDISH LUTHERAN BACKGROUND WHICH THEY SURRENDERED TO THE SURROUNDING AMERICAN COMMUNITY

In this chapter the surrender of certain practices and viewpoints to the surrounding American community by the Swedish Lutheran congregations in the Boston area will be noted. In every surrender there was the abandonment of something old and cherished which these immigrants had brought with them from Sweden. In each of these abandonments, there was also a surrender to the American culture.

Because of the separation of church and state, a person in America was able to move out from under the authority of the church. He could simply relinquish his obligation to the church either by active denial of its authority over his life or simply by default.

This condition in America forced radical changes in the view and practice of discipline for these Swedish Lutherans. Also, whether they acknowledged themselves as a denomination or not, they had to face the fact that other Christian groups posed a threat to the constituency which

the Swedish Lutherans believed to be their own by right of birth. Their insistence to think and act as if they were a church rather than a sect or denomination did not alter the fact that in America, the characteristics of denominational rather than church life prevailed. Although it has been shown in the previous chapter that these Lutherans preserved the churchly view throughout this period, nevertheless, they were forced to surrender certain practices and to adopt others that were denominational in character rather than churchly.[1]

1. The Denominationalization of the Boston Area Congregations

Denominationalism is the form religious life has taken in America as a result of the process of acculturation. Sidney Mead writes:

> The true picture is not that of the "triumph" in America of right-wing or left-wing, of churches or sects, but rather a mingling through frustration, controversy, confusion, and compromise forced by necessity of all the diverse ecclesiastical patterns transplanted from Europe, plus other patterns improvised on the spot, to form a complex pattern of religious thought and institutional life that was peculiarly "American," and is probably best described as "denominationalism."[2]

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[1]For these denominational practices see supra, pp. 80-87.

[2]From Coercion to Persuasion: Another Look at the Rise of Religious Liberty and the Emergence of Denominationalism," Church History (December 1956), XXV, 21.

Yinger makes a similar suggestion in his use of American church life as the example for denominationalism, one of his six types of religious groupings.[1]

The Swedish Lutherans around Boston came to America with the idea that the church was their type of religious community. It was to this form they were accustomed in Sweden, and they believed they were preserving this in America. These Swedes did not think the six characteristics of denominationalism as described by Mead (sectarian, voluntary association, mission oriented, revivalistic, anti-intellectual, and competitive) were present in their congregations.[2]

In actuality, however, denominationalization was taking place even though it was doing so in a manner of which they were quite unaware. For example, these Swedes were not competitive in the sense that they were attempting to evangelize Americans in conflict with other groups. Nevertheless, in what they believed to be the churchly concern in their view of mission, they actually were in competition with other churches for the Swedish immigrant. What they thought was churchly in the preservation of those people whom they believed by right of ethnic and

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[1] P. 150. See supra, p. 81, footnote.

[2] Supra, pp. 82-87.

religious background to be their own was actually denominational. This was so because they found themselves in competition with others for the loyalty of Lutheran immigrants from Sweden.

With the possible exception of revivalism and anti-intellectualism, all the marks of Mead's description of denominationalism were present in these congregations of the Boston area. They were sectarian in the sense that they found themselves in a position where they had to justify their own peculiar interpretation and practices.[1] In the first place, their liturgy, their confessions and their language are examples of such a sectarianism. Secondly, the voluntary principle operated in that they could not depend upon the power of birth into a national church as the source of their membership. It was true of these Boston area congregations as it was of the other immigrant churches about which H. Richard Niebuhr writes:

> In place of the ecclesiastical principle of a church membership coincident with citizenship these denominations have needed to accept, to some extent at least, the sectarian principle of voluntary membership.[2]

Only by persuasion could an American church gain members and the Boston area Lutherans were no different than

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[1]Mead in "Denominationalism . . ." p. 295.

[2]The Social Sources of Denominationalism ("Meridian Books"; New York: World Publishing Co., 1957), p. 205.

American denominations in this respect.

The voluntary principle was applicable in another way. In Sweden, the church these immigrants knew was supported by state taxes. This could not be done in America. Only by voluntary means could financial support be obtained. The approach of these Swedish immigrants to this problem and their reliance upon American denominationalism will be discussed in Chapter VI.

In the third place, they were mission oriented. True, this concern for mission was only for those whom they regarded as their own people. Nevertheless, that kind of concern would have been unnecessary in Sweden for there all were born into the Lutheran church. In America, because of its religious pluralism, they had to approach their own Swedish Lutheran people and attempt to win them for the Lutheran church in America.

Finally, they were competitive. One example of this has already been noted.[1] This competition also had no little influence upon the change of the language from Swedish to English. It was when they realized their children and young people were leaving their Swedish Lutheran churches because they could not understand the Swedish language that these congregations of the Boston

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[1]Supra, p. 180-81.

area began to adopt the language of the land. This will be dealt with in the next section of this chapter.

In the minds of these Swedish Lutherans of Boston, their congregations were the church. Yet, denominationalization was taking place. Before the end of the year 1930 this process had already gone far. It could, in the main, be said of them as of other immigrant churches:

> So the accommodation of the immigrant churches to the new political environment has tended in some respects toward the establishment of a new, common American church type. In polity, in lay representation, in the adoption of the principle of voluntary membership, in common abstention from interference in the processes of civil government, the immigrant national churches have approached a common form. This tendency toward uniformity has been reinforced by their common assimilation of a new culture as well as by their common adjustment to a new type of civil government.[1]

It is with this process of denominationalization with which this chapter and the following one are concerned.

2. Elements They Surrendered

In the process of denominationalization, two elements of their Swedish background were surrendered by the Boston area Lutherans. First, although the Swedish language was still being used in all the congregations in 1930, it had nevertheless been abandoned in significant areas of the lives of these churches. Secondly, the practice of

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[1] Niebuhr, p. 211.

discipline was all but surrendered during this period of history in these Swedish Lutheran congregations.

i. Abandonment of Swedish Language in Significant Areas

As has been shown,[1] these Swedish Lutheran immigrants preserved with some degree of success the use of the Swedish language. At the same time, by 1930, significant areas of congregational life had been surrendered to the employment of the language of America. Also, by this date, the trend was strongly toward the continued abandonment of Swedish.

The impact of the English language is described thus:

> An especially significant sign [of acculturation] was the snapping of those linguistic ties which more than anything else had bound together immigrants of common origin and had kept them apart from other Americans.[2]

Since it was necessary for the very existence of these congregations to communicate with the surrounding community, the English language was steadily pressed into service. The need for the employment of English was prompted by at least four different relationships: legal, business and community, youth, and children.

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[1] Supra, pp. 165-77. [2] Jones, p. 75.

(1) Legal Relationships

These congregations found it impossible either to come into existence or to continue apart from contact with the law of the land. The churches had to incorporate as legal bodies in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The constitution of the Augustana Synod required them to do so. Furthermore, the need to possess legal validity before those with whom they must carry on legal and business transactions made incorporation necessary.

In his presidential report to the New York conference in 1886, C. E. Lindberg urged the congregations to incorporate. He cited the difficulties one of the larger congregations had had in trying to sell some of its property because it had failed to take out incorporation papers. Lindberg went further and pointed out that although these Lutheran congregations were not considered illegal bodies, such as was the case in church-state or "Caesaro-papal relationships," nevertheless, they were responsible to the government under whose laws they lived and should, therefore, be incorporated as legal bodies of the state.[1]

The proceedings by which incorporation in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was achieved had to be

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[1] Protokoll . . . New York-konferensens 16:de årsmöte (Minutes . . . Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the New York Conference), 1886, p. 16.

conducted in the English language. The first pages of every record of congregational meetings were in the English language. These pages record the minutes of the meeting when the decision to incorporate was made. A copy of these minutes had to be transmitted to the proper state authority. Since the legal matters of the state were carried on in the English language, these Swedish Lutheran congregations also had to employ that medium of communication.

In a few instances, for its own records, the constitution was also translated into the English. In all likelihood a copy of this was sent to the commonwealth with the application for incorporation. Such an instance is found in the records of the Waltham congregation. The English version was obtained in printed form from the Augustana Synod and was entitled: "Constitution of the Augustana English Evangelical Lutheran Church in Rock Island, Illinois."[1]

Even before the congregations themselves were organized, some of the societies established for the purpose of founding churches were incorporated. These, too, had to use the English.[2]

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1889-1912," November 25, 1889, pp. 1-4.

[2]Jacobson (Augustana), pp. 10-17; J. Herman Olsson, "Golden Jubilee-Lutheran Church of the Redeemer: 1893-1943" (Woburn), pp. 8-9.

Later, the situation was similar when matters of law arose. Whenever land was to be purchased or mortgages procured, again these congregations had to use English. When the Quincy congregation decided to buy land on which to build a parsonage, the resolution pertaining to that matter is in English. All the rest of the record of that meeting is written in Swedish.[1] Gethsemane church in Montello met to empower the trustees to borrow a large amount of money from the Brockton Savings Bank. Since a transcript of the minutes of the meeting had to accompany the request for the loan, English had to be used.[2] These are but a few instances of numerous such occasions in the history of these congregations.

(2) Business and Community Relationships

The need to employ English also arose in business relationships apart from formal legal matters. Occasionally, the awkwardness of the situation was dramatically shown. In 1906, Augustana (Cambridge) negotiated with Mr. A. N. Hederstedt for the purchase of a lot. The ruling had been made that Swedish would be used at the meeting. However, the condition was also allowed that "Mr. A. N.

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1911-28," October 25, 1912, pp. 11-12.

[2]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1910-22," October 20, 1922.

Hederstedt give us a full report in English and if anyone at the meeting [of the congregation] does not understand English, the pastor will translate into Swedish."[1] (trans.)

On one occasion, three languages were involved. When a Finnish congregation negotiated with the Swedish church in East Boston, it was decided that two copies of the letter regarding the agreement be written in English.[2]

The longer the existence of the congregation in the community, the more its life became involved with the community. As this happened, the dominant language of the community began to prevail. An interesting entry is recorded in the minutes of the syfförening (Sewing Society) of the Boston congregation in 1926:

> This meeting was conducted in the English language being that [sic] we had visitors with us that did not understand Swedish. Mrs. Hurtle was welcomed as a new member of the Society. She is our first member not of Swedish descent.[3]

In December, 1909, the Quincy congregation invited Mayor Shea of the city to give a greeting.[4] Almost

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1892-1915," September 27, 1906, p. 202.

[2]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1902-27," February 27, 1920.

[3]"Syförenings Protokollsbok (Sewing Society Minutes): 1904-39," May 6, p. 116.

[4]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1897-1910," January 10, 1907, p. 120.

certainly this had to be given in the English language.

More general occasions also demanded the use of English. In 1923, twelve pastors of the Boston District sent a resolution of thanks to Massachusetts Governor Channing Cox for his stand on the liquor question. The Svea newspaper carried in full the resolution.

> The Boston District of the Swedish Lutheran Church representing twenty congregations in the Eastern part of the Commonwealth, at a meeting held in Norwood, Mass. May 13th and 14th, 1923, unanimously express their appreciation of the manly and Christian stand you have taken in signing the enforcement of the prohibition act and vetoing the Adlaw bill, as well as the stand you have taken on all moral questions.[1]

The entire issue of this paper was in Swedish with the exception of this article.

As time went on, the various congregations found it both necessary and desirable to publicize their activities to the community. In 1895, in the Daily Evening Item of Lynn, the Lutheran church announced: "Next Sunday afternoon, the Swedish Lutherans lay the cornerstone for their new church."[2] For the congregation, this was an occasion worthy of community participation. The program was planned for this larger audience. "After the ceremony, there will be short addresses in Swedish and English, mostly in

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[1] Svea (Worcester, Mass.), Wednesday, May 22, 1923.

[2] Friday, May 24, 1895.

English. Among the speakers in the English language are Revs. [sic] F. E. Johnson, J. McMurdy, and Willis A. Hadley of this city."[1] If they wished this kind of festivity, the congregation must, as it did, surrender for the time being its customary language and adopt that of the American community.

Eventually the pressure for use of English as the language for publicity invaded even the congregation itself. In the archives of Augustana (Cambridge) is an interesting announcement book used by the pastor. There were apparently no bulletins for such purposes, so all activities for the coming week must be announced from the pulpit. The announcements had to be given in both languages since some of the organizations used only the English language.[2]

Numerous bazaars and suppers were held to finance the work of the congregation. Many of these were held, not at the church, but in some building located near the center of town. The appeal of these financial endeavors was to the community as well as the congregation.

> Since we hold this bazaar in the heart of the town, the Swedes now come with full pocket books

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[1] Ibid.

[2] "Pastorns annonserbok (Pastor's Book of Announcements): 1925-27."

> and go home with empty ones. But it is not only they who belong to the Sewing Society [the sponsoring organization within the church] who work for our bazaar and auction. No, we have many friends who always give in one way or another for which we are heartily thankful.[1]

It may be assumed that the publicity for such events would be in the language of the community.

Some of these financial projects were of larger dimensions. When the Vasa Congregation (Dorchester) decided to build, it printed "5,000 announcements in the English language for the Swedish ingathering, . . . to be distributed in certain churches in Dorchester."[2]

As early as the eighties, Rev. C. F. Johansson (Boston) obtained letters of endorsement from leading state officials to gain financial support from the American community. These were written on stationery from the executive department of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

> To Whom it may concern:
> I have for the last year known the Rev. C. F. Johansson of Boston, pastor of the Swedish Lutheran church and aided him in the matter of erecting a new building by such word as I could. The society still needs some $1000 to complete this work and I believe it is a good cause--especially in view of the excellent character of our Scandinavian population.[3]

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[1]From a history of the Norwood congregation appearing in Svea, May 22, 1923.

[2]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1919-29," May 3, 1921.

[3]Letter from William Loy, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Executive Dept., Boston, Mass., March 21, 1881, regarding the work of the Swedish Lutheran Emmanuel congregation of Boston.

In 1919, this same Emmanuel congregation faced a relocation and building program. It was felt the financial burden was beyond the capacity of the congregation to bear. Once more an appeal was made to the community. Pastor A. M. Benander wrote a form letter in the English language:

> We have now come to a new epoch in our history. We need a new church and in a different locality, if our work is going to be carried on effectively. This has been evident to our congregation for years, and it has weighed heavily upon us, that we have not been able more efficiently to gather our people into the church fold. A site for a new sanctuary has been purchased for $15,000.00 on the corner of Warren St. and Kearsage Ave., Roxbury, which is also paid for. But with our limited financial ability we find ourselves unable to put up a suitable church edifice thereon with our own resources, and so we feel obliged to ask our friends again to lend us a helping hand.[1]

In the opinion of the congregations, the financial pressures in all these instances forced them to turn to the larger American community. In that relation, they were left with no other alternative than to use the English language.

(3) Relationship to Youth

Not only was there pressure from without for the Swedish Lutherans to adopt the English language. There

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[1]Date 1919 with blanks for month and date to be filled in.

was also such within the congregations, for example, from the youth. This group was more receptive to English than were the adults. The youth had a longer future in America than did their parents and desired to make terms with this new land more quickly. They wanted to forget as soon as possible the land and heritage of their fathers. Students of immigration suggest that this is almost a universal phenomenon among the children of immigrants.[1]

The youth were certain that the American language was the world language and must by all means be employed. The circles in which these youth moved neither used nor possessed a knowledge of Swedish.

> Much has been lost and many young people have left our churches because of services being held in, what was to them, a foreign language, and especially because of the fact that even in, and prior to, the above mentioned decade [1920-30], the Swedish language was very rarely used in private conversation or at public gatherings outside the church itself.[2]

This loss of youth to the congregations was a serious threat to their existence. Very early in the twentieth century, they saw their young people leaving and joining American-speaking churches.

> This assembly [congregation in annual meeting] should seriously consider that this is the proper

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[1]M. L. Hansen, "The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant," Augustana Historical Society Publication, VIII (1938), 9; Handlin, pp. 252-58.

[2]Olsson, p. 21.

> time to make an earnest start in that direction: Won't we lose many of our young people, unless we take care of them? Is it not a known fact, that a large number of our Swedish youth attend and affiliate with English-speaking churches, for example, "Wood Memorial"? They are not there for any other reason than the language.[1] (trans.)

As with other non-English speaking immigrants, intermarriage with American youth posed a problem.

> The young people who are growing up are marrying non-Swedish persons. We have several instances of this already. It is time to ask the question concerning this loss of our congregation. If we thought we could remedy this situation by taking up our work in English, whole or in part, it would pay us to try it.[2] (trans.)

Certain societies within the congregation also suffered from lack of growth due to the use of Swedish. The Augustana Aid Society chapter at Quincy, concerned about getting more members, decided to urge the members of the confirmation classes of 1922 and 1923 to become members.[3] This was part of a bigger plan whereby a large festival was held to attract all members of the congregation. It was specifically stated that English would be

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[1]Pastor Henning Jacobson, "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1892-1915" (Cambridge), January 5, 1903, p. 140.

[2]Pastor Hans Pearson, "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1910-22" (Montello), January 19, 1916.

[3]"Sjuk och begravningshjälp föreningens rapporter (Reports of Sick and Burial Benefit Society): 1909-30," June 1, 1923, p. 79.

used for this function.[1]

The young people themselves were not silent in their demands. The young people of Bethesda (Brockton) in 1905 requested from the church council the right to conduct an English school in the church basement during the coming year. Permission was granted.[2] In 1922, the youth of Woburn petitioned the congregation for an occasional English service.[3]

With the evidence available, it is impossible to assess the degree of dissatisfaction on the part of the youth. Some of them did complain as has already been shown. Others, rather than raise protest, took the more quiet way and simply joined other churches where the language of the land was spoken.

The churches were not oblivious to the problem although they probably were not as sensitive to the needs of the youth as the situation demanded. Different methods were used in the attempt to solve the problem. One was to encourage the young people to retain the Swedish

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[1] Ibid., October 17, 1923, p. 83.

[2] "Protokollsbok över kyrkorådets förhandlingar (Minutes of Church Council): 1902-19," August 29, 1905.

[3] "Protokollsbok för kyrkostyrelsen (Minutes of Board of Administration): 1922-30," September 5, 1922, p. 17.

language. Dr. Hägglund (Dorchester) tried, without success, to found a Swedish young peoples' society for those who had come from Sweden.[1] The failure of this endeavor dramatizes that the youth rejected Swedish and that they were primarily interested in becoming American.

In 1915, the Young Peoples' Society of East Boston discussed the question: "Should Swedish be used at the meetings of the Society?" The chief argument in the negative was: "The American language is plainly a world language and a language which we all know together with our Mother Tongue."[2] This was youth's answer to any attempts such as Dr. Hägglund's.

Another method of dealing with the problem of youth's needs was to recognize the inevitable victory of English and to provide for the youth in face of this fact. In his first pastoral report, Peter Froeburg (Brockton) said to the Bethesda congregation: "It now appears evident that it is more and more necessary than heretofore to employ the English language for the instruction of children and youth."[3] (trans.) In response to this observation,

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1919-29," January 26, 1928.

[2]"Protokollsbok för ungdomsföreningen (Minutes of Young People's Society): 1909-17," April 8.

[3]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1915-39," January 16, 1919.

two Sunday evening English services a month were begun.

In 1929, the Malden board of administration decided that "an English service should be held the second Sunday and the fourth Sunday of each month for the benefit of the young people in the church."[1]

Such instances as these indicate the progressive adoption of the English language to meet the needs of youth. Usually English was inaugurated at one or two Sunday evening services a month. This would later be extended to a monthly English service in the morning. Later on, English would be used on alternate Sundays. By 1930, all of these congregations in the Boston area were conducting some of their services in English. Individually, they were in various stages of the evolution from the usage of Swedish to English. On the other hand, by 1930, many of the organizations within the congregations had completely discarded Swedish from their programs.

Among the activities in the life of the congregations, Swedish was retained longest in the Sunday schools and worship services. The only exceptions to this were the local chapters of the Augustana Aid Society and some of the older ladies' sewing societies. The reason for this

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[1]"Protokollsbok över styrelsemöten (Minutes of the Board of Administration): 1924-38," July 23, 1929, p. 105.

language lag in such important areas as worship and education is probably because both of these fields were under the supervision of the church council (deacons). It was generally the older, more conservative men, respected for their faithfulness and piety, who were elected to this important body. Nurtured in Sweden and conservative by nature, they inhibited the change from Swedish to English in worship and education.

(4) Relation to the Children

The pressure toward English was strongest upon the children who were born in this country of Swedish immigrants. The youth considered in the previous section included many who had come from Sweden. They knew the language from childhood.

This was not the case with the children born here. The full force, not only of American social life, but also of its public school system[1] constituted an acculturating pressure which doomed the use of Swedish from the beginning.

The only influences to offset the impact of English were the Swedish day schools of the congregations and the homes from whence the children came. In the first instance, the small success of these ventures has already been shown.[2]

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[1] Supra, p. 136. [2] Supra, pp. 169-75.

In the case of the homes, there were many where there was little interest in the preservation of the Swedish. Pastor E. J. Peterson (Waltham) longingly wrote

> if the parents would try a little to instruct the children in Swedish at home, then they could better understand what is communicated to them in Sunday School. The older children could help the younger in this matter."[1] (trans.)

This parental indifference to instruction in Swedish was a frequent complaint also in relation to the Swedish day schools and was given as a cause for their failure. "Far too few availed themselves of this opportunity [to send their children to the Swedish school]," [2] wrote Pastor Leander Hokenson (Quincy) in an indictment of the homes in what he believed to be parental irresponsibility.

There was an element of pathos in this situation. Oscar Handlin describes the separation between immigrant parents and their children born in the new land. Of the parents he writes: "It was a sad satisfaction to watch the young advance, knowing that every step forward was a step away from home."[3] The Sunday School superintendent of Dorchester complained that their school would be larger

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[1] "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1889-1912," January 7, 1909, pp. 320-21.

[2] "Protokollsbok för kyrkorådet (Minutes of Church Council): 1911-26," January 14, 1915, p. 46.

[3] Handlin, pp. 257-58.

in enrollment if there were teachers who could instruct the confirmation class in English. This would in turn supply more teachers for the Sunday School.[1] The pathos here is that the first generation was unable to communicate literally and figuratively in the language of their children.

On the whole, however, Handlin's picture is probably a bit overdrawn for application to these Swedish Lutheran immigrants. There seems to have been little conflict between parents and children in many of the homes. Rather, it appears that if not by design, at least by default, many homes refused to stand in the way of their children's adoption of the English language. The children's acquisition of it as their sole medium of communication forced the churches to begin the abandonment of Swedish sooner than they were actually inclined to do. An instance of this is shown by the decision of the Bethesda church council (Brockton)

> to provide Christian instruction in the English language for Chester and Ralph Peterson because there was no cooperation in the home to teach them the Swedish language and they did not understand instruction in that language.[2] (trans.)

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1919-29," January 26, 1925.

[2]"Protokollsbok över kyrkorådets förhandlingar (Minutes of Church Council): 1902-19," December 27, 1907.

The pressure of the English language was ultimately seen in terms of a threat to the future existence of the congregations. The departure of children from their own Sunday schools to those of American churches was cause for grave concern. Pastor Axel Andrea (Waltham) wrote in 1919:

> Olaf Helgesen's children and Andrew Johnson's son have left the school and now attend the Imanuel Methodist Sunday School. The reason given was that they could not learn Swedish. . . . It was the same with the children of Isaacsons, Holmbergs, and Ulins who left our school over three years ago and who all go to the same American school.[1] (trans.)

There is a touch of impatience in Pastor Benander's stricture that "some members find it convenient to send their children around the corner to an American church rather than to a Swedish Lutheran church" whereas it should be "our God-given purpose to implant our glorious evangelical Lutheran faith."[2] (trans.) In a less severe tone, the superintendent at Brockton noted that their Sunday school had actually declined because some of their pupils were leaving to go to those of American churches.[3]

Such complaints did little to correct the situation. Much as some would have liked to continue the

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1913-28," January 22, 1919, p. 115.

[2]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1917-33," January 20, 1921, p. 91.

[3]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1915-39," January 16, 1919.

Swedish, the tide in the other direction could not be stemmed. There were those who saw this and turned their efforts to correspond with this fact of acculturation. In 1921, Pastor Henning Jacobson (Cambridge) wrote:

> The time is here when we should organize an English Sunday school and that should be from the beginning of the year. Every year, we lose a large number of children who by right belong to us and which we do not have the right to see taken from us. . . . We must try, even if it be slow and careful, to follow with the times lest we be found negligent and hinder the Lord's Work among us.[1] (trans.)

Even Dr. Hägglund (Dorchester), the strong proponent for retention of the Swedish, had to say in 1923: "I recommend an English class in the Sunday school so that we can gain back the children who have left because they have found it difficult to follow in the Swedish language."[2] (trans.)

A difficult choice was arising for these Swedish Lutheran immigrants. They would have to decide whether to abandon Swedish or see their Lutheran congregations die. If these churches were to be a force for the propagation of the Lutheran faith for which they professed such love, then Swedish which they also cherished must of necessity

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1915-29," January 10, 1921, p. 117.

[2]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1919-29," January 17, 1923.

be sacrificed, painful as this might be. Ultimately, they chose this latter way. The belief that they must disseminate the Lutheran faith rather than their Swedish culture finally won. This victory was not without severe struggles and with some setbacks. In 1912, Rev. S. F. Hammarlöf (Lowell) urged:

> The time is getting ripe for an English division in the Sunday school, English in the confirmation class, and one or two English services a month. There are German children who would like to attend a Lutheran Sunday school.[1]

The congregation ignored the pastor's counsel and did not provide any English in the Sunday school until seven years later.

Yet, others were seeing the basic issue, i.e. the decision must be made for that which the congregation believed to be basic to its own identity--faith or language.

In 1913, Ernest J. Anderson, Superintendent of the Augustana Sunday School (Cambridge) described the problem of the branch school in the Mt. Auburn area. The previous year, five children had left to go to Sunday schools of American churches. Pleading for the use of English, Mr. Nelson said:

> When it comes to the matter of spreading the light of Christianity, then the question of language is not the chief one; therefore it seems clear and

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[1]Gilinson, p. 18.

> timely to me that if we can do this better in one language rather than another, then the question of language ought not to stand in the way.[1]

With similar conviction, Pastor Julius Hulteen (Brockton) in 1916 wrote: "The chief concern is that God's clear saving Word may be proclaimed in the language best understood by the listener."[2] Thus Hulteen spoke to the whole issue. He assessed the true power of acculturation upon the Swedish Lutheran immigrants. If they were to survive, they must abandon Swedish. By 1930, this was plain to all except to those who would hide their eyes from the flow of history.

ii. The Practice of Congregational Discipline

The Boston area congregations, as will be shown, received their precedent and methods for discipline from the early nineteenth century practice of the church in Sweden, pietism, and chief of all, from the Augustana Synod. Here, as in the larger area of church polity, the influence of this older body upon the Boston area congregations is shown.

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1892-1915," January 13, 1913, pp. 384-85.

[2]Svenska evangelisk-luterska församlingen (The Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Congregation), "Protokollsbok (Book of Minutes): 1915-1939," January 20.

Discipline, by definition, is the enforcement of laws and practices upon the members of an organization or society and the punishment of those who transgress these laws.

The Swedish Lutherans of Boston were to discover that the pluralism and voluntarism of America provided a far different situation from the Swedish one. There the realm and law of church and state coincided and cooperated to discipline the people. In Sweden, there was no avenue of escape. To be disobedient to the church was to be disobedient to the state.

Not so in pluralistic America. The separation of church and state had created numerous religious bodies. If the discipline of one body proved unsatisfactory, there was always the avenue of escape by which one could leave one church and join another. Or, one need not join any. A person could disobey the rules of a church and still be free before the state. He had violated no law of the land. Hence, to impose church discipline became increasingly difficult as these immigrants became more capable in caring for themselves in America.

Integrally related with pluralism was the principle of voluntarism. Since one could join any church one desired, the person could also choose the discipline under which he wanted to live his church life. In a real sense,

it was the people who determined the discipline rather than the churches. The churches found themselves having to shape their discipline according to what the people would willingly accept. The dependence upon persuasion rather than coercion was the difference between the American scene and the Swedish background.

There was no great difference between the Augustana Synod and the Boston area churches. Both groups had similar intentions in the early years to impose discipline and both groups, under the pressures of a pluralistic and voluntaristic society, were forced to abandon the disciplinary measures they had first attempted to enforce.

The one chief difference was that the Augustana Synod was overwhelmingly rural whereas the Boston churches were urban. Leaders of these urban congregations blamed the city for difficulties encountered in the practice of church discipline. In 1889, C. E. Lindberg in his presidential report to the New York Conference wrote that "the large cities place many hindrances in the way which make it difficult for the church councils to fulfill their duties."[1] This same observation was noted in 1891 when the city was again blamed.[2]

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[1] Referat . . . nittonde årsmöte (Reports . . . Nineteenth Annual Meeting), p. 13.

[2] Ibid., p. 8.

It is doubtful if the city was a major factor in the difficulty of imposing discipline. In 1885, a Minnesota pastor wrote to the president of the conference asking what one should do "if one has a church council which refuses to exercise . . . discipline?" He was informed by the president that "more than one [pastor] has asked this question."[1] American pluralism with its principle of voluntarism was a determining force in the decrease of discipline in all churches, rural and urban.

(1) The Bases for this Discipline

The bases for the discipline which these immigrants attempted to impose seem to be manifold. Conceivably social psychologists may see this as a facet of group preservation, and the religious institution was the instrument through which this discipline was exercised. More concrete bases seem to be a tradition of the Swedish church, pietism, and the Augustana Lutheran Church.

(i) A Swedish Tradition

There was a long history of discipline in the Lutheran church in Sweden. This became especially severe in the eighteenth century and into the forties of the

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[1]Emmer Engberg, "Augustana Code Morality," Centennial Essays: Augustana Lutheran Church, 1860-1960, p. 130.

nineteenth.[1] Although it had greatly diminished by the time the Boston Swedish Lutherans came to America, it was not unknown to them.

(ii) Pietism

Pietism has been regarded as another basis for this practice of discipline by these Swedish Lutheran churches. Emmer Engberg speaks of this concern for discipline as deriving from "nineteenth century revivalism and pietism,"[2] and Olson describes one of the trends which developed in Augustana as a "warm pietism with a leaning toward legalism."[3] As will be seen a little later on, much of the discipline was directed against such practices as dancing, drinking, and other worldly amusements which was typical of pietism.

(iii) The Augustana Lutheran Synod

It was their association with the Augustana Lutheran Church[4] which furnished the Swedish Lutheran

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[1] Supra, pp. 43-45. [2] P. 124.

[3] Olson, The Augustana Lutheran Church in America: 1860-1910, p. 32.

[4] As such, the Augustana Lutheran Church, itself a descendant of the Lutheran church in Sweden and much influenced by pietism, was a channel through which these two factors molded the view of the Boston area churches toward discipline.

immigrants of the Boston area the most concrete base for their practice of discipline. The constitution for congregations of 1860, 1870, and 1907 have nearly identical provisions for this exercise of church authority. Since all congregations in and around Boston accepted these constitutions, they placed themselves under the official requirement to enforce the conditions of them. In the early years, the mood to do so was also present.

The directive for the procedure of discipline was given in the congregational constitution. The procedure was founded on biblical writing.

> It shall be the duty of the Church Council to discipline any member of the congregation who forsakes, misinterprets, or openly opposes the doctrines of the Church, who falls into sins, such as drunkenness, licentiousness, profanity, malice, slander, or Sabbath-breaking, or who joins the Free Masons or any other similar society, or whose conduct is such as to cause offence and grieve the Church of Christ. (Matt. 18:15-18; I Cor. 5)[1]

As dictated by the passage from Matthew, the pastor was first to speak to the offender. If such counseling failed, he was to be properly notified in writing by the pastor not less than three days before the meeting when he was to appear before the council. If deemed necessary, the council could summon witnesses and administer the oath

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[1]Augustana Synod, Constitution for Congregations-1870 (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1888), p. 8.

of truth to such. If this was fruitless, then the council could suspend or excommunicate the member. The decision of the council was to be communicated as quickly as possible in writing to the guilty person. If the member was dissatisfied with the decision, by informing the council within thirty days after their action, he could appeal to conference. The decision of the conference was final.[1] Thus, even as Matthew's writing advised the offending brother be spoken to first by one, then by a few and finally by the church, Augustana congregations through their officers patterned their procedure according to Matthew 18: 15-18.

The fifth chapter of first Corinthians with its key admonition to separate out of the congregation any immoral persons was a strong part of the disciplinary measure of the churches of Augustana including the Boston area congregations. The larger part of these bodies in 1884, reported 116 excommunications.[2] Two years later, President Erland Carlsson revealed the disposition of that group when he wrote: "Not only are there still many 'weeds' in our congregations but . . . church discipline, based on the

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[1]Augustana Synod, Constitution for Congregations-1907, Art. V, Sec. 9, paragraphs i-vi, quoted in "Protokollsbok: 1886-1914" (Brockton), February 25, 1913.

[2]Engberg, p. 130.

Word of God and our congregational constitutions, is exercised among us."[1]

In the early years, the churches in the Boston vicinity shared this mood. Numerous excommunications took place. In one congregation the records show seventeen were separated from the congregation between 1894 and 1903;[2] another excommunicated seven between 1893 and 1901.[3]

(2) The Areas Wherein Discipline Was Applied

The specific grounds upon which members were excommunicated were many. One local historian notes the following reasons for such action:

> dissension with the pastor, false accusations against the pastor, long removal from Lynn, absence from services since marriage, irregular at church since becoming associated with Socialism, moved but do not know where, never attend services or fulfilled his duties as a member, or paid his contributions, immoral life, free-thinking, unchristian behavior, became a "Good Templar" and left church, wife became a religious fanatic and drew him away, left church because of desire for dancing.[4] (trans.)

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod in North America, Records of Ministerial Acts (Rock Island, Ill.: Joshua Hasselquist, 1886), Svenska evangeliska-luterska Salemsförsamlingen (The Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Salem Congregation), Quincy, Mass., pp. 49-183.

[3] Svenska evangeliska-luterska Bethlehem församlingen, "Medlemmarbok (The Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Bethlehem Congregation Membership Book): 1891-1927" (Waltham, Mass.), pp. 5-77; Kyrkorådets protokollsbok: (Minutes of the Church Council): 1889-1907," June 8, 1899.

[4] Fahlberg (Lynn), p. 1.

One of the congregations in its pronouncements declared the following as reasons for discipline.

> The grounds upon which a person might be excommunicated were two: Heresy (forsake, misinterpret, or openly resist the holy faith and doctrines of this congregation) and immorality (such as drunkenness, licentiousness, profanity, quarrelsomeness or malicious slanderings, profanity of the Lord's Day, or anything else which may cause offence and grieve the Church of God.)[1] (trans.)

Out of these statements, three broad areas can be identified wherein discipline was applied: heresy, immorality, and delinquency in the financial support of the church.

(i) Heresy

Although heresy was considered grounds for summons before the pastor and council, there is record of very few such instances. If one may glean from Fahlberg's statement, such grounds as suggested by "associated with Socialism," and "free-thinking," may suggest the possibility of heresy.

In 1903, many of the Lowell congregation desired to engage as its minister Pastor Dahleen. He had been proved an impostor. Pastor Henning Jacobson (Cambridge) warned: "Either the Lowell church will be under the discipline of the New York Conference, or it will be

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1886-1916" (Boston), p. 11.

separated from the Augustana Synod. So think carefully before you vote."[1] Again this rather general statement does not definitely indicate heresy although the fact he was regarded as an impostor may have had heretical connotations regarding the doctrine of the pastoral call.

In 1897, the church council at Quincy entered in its records:

> Inasmuch as Mr. Erik Erikson in part shows contempt for both the congregation and religion and in part desires to be excluded from the congregation
> Be it resolved that the said Erik Erikson be excluded from the congregation, until a change of spirit shows itself.[2] (trans.)

Again, as in the previous instances, the statement is too general to make definite conclusions. By the same token, the suggestion of heresy is present in the phrase "contempt for . . . religion."

The records do not indicate any clear-cut cases of heresy even though it was stated as a ground for bringing charges against members of the church. Possibly, already the pluralism of America caused the church officials to hesitate before bringing charges on this ground. Also, concrete evidence of heresy was much more difficult to obtain than in the area of immorality. In any event,

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[1]Gilinson, p. 13.

[2]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1889-1911," December 6, 1897.

although heresy was a constitutional ground for discipline, evidence is lacking for proof that any trials for such actually took place.

(ii) Immorality

The chief offenses in morals were considered to be drunkenness, sexual immorality, and "sinful affairs."

Drunkenness.--Conditions were far different in the area of morals. Here drunkenness was especially troublesome in the eyes of the clergy and congregations. Pastor A. M. Benander (North Easton) deplored the fact that drinking had been a problem in the church. He warned that the Bible taught "no drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of God." Benander noted that most of the work of the church council during the past year had been over this problem.[1] Pastor Axel C. H. Helander (North Easton) wrote: "May all our members watch that no Swedes in North Easton through drunkenness bring blemish upon our beloved Swedish name and nationality."[2] (trans.)

Of the seven members who had been excommunicated from the Waltham church between 1893 and 1901, four were separated from the congregation on the grounds of

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1892-1907," January 16, 1899.

[2]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1908-16," January 18, 1909, p. 26.

drunkenness.[1] Pastor Henning Jacobson, who during a part of this time was pastor at Waltham, described the situation:

> May God in His grace constantly grant us a church council which seeks only the glory of God and the welfare of the congregation. Regarding the moral situation within our congregation, it is not as we would wish. Several coarse sins have worked injury to the congregation. The worst of these and from which many if not most of the other sins have come is drunkenness which has already captured many in our congregation for which we need renewed strength to fight against this evil and pray the Shepherd and Bishop of our congregation to help us in this our work and preserve us from this deathly enemy in our congregation.[2] (trans.)

Disciplinary action was conducted according to constitutional procedure with an evident concern to reform the erring individuals. John Anderson, together with three other members, was called before the council (Waltham) and warned about his drunkenness.[3] Two months later, he was excommunicated.[4] The process of separation of a member from the congregation was not done casually.

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[1]"Medlemmarbok (Membership Book): 1891-1927," pp. 5-77; "Kyrkorådets protokollsbok (Minutes of the Church Council): 1889-1907," June 8, 1899.

[2]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1889-1912," January 18, 1894, p. 31.

[3]"Krykorådets protokollsbok (Minutes of the Church Council): 1889-1907," May 1, 1893.

[4]Ibid., July 3, 1893.

On January 1, 1894, Petter Johnson and Carl Erikson were stricken from the rolls "because they had ignored the warnings regarding their insobriety."[1] (trans.) In a few days, Mr. Johnson appeared before the council and confessed his wrong. Permission was granted for him to remain a member.[2] This was granted until the next meeting when he was placed under discipline for a month.[3] At the end of that period, it was decided Mr. Johnson need no longer be under such surveillance.[4] Unfortunately, some three years later, it was "decided to excommunicate Mr. and Mrs. Petter Johnson because of their incorrigible lives which cause injury to the congregation and the rest of the members and hinder the success of God's work." (trans.)

The same sense of responsibility was shown for Josef Johnson who was called before the council at Brockton. He promised to abstain from strong drink and try to bring peace and order into his home. A committee composed of the pastor and deacons was to help in the latter matter.[6] But the habit of drink was strong. Less than two years later,

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[1] Ibid., May 1, 1894. [2] Ibid., January 13, 1894.

[3] Ibid., February 5, 1894.

[4] Ibid., March n.d., 1894.

[5] Ibid., September 29, 1897.

[6] "Protokollsbok över kyrkorådets förhandlingar (Minutes of the Proceedings of the Church Council): 1902-19," May 31, 1904.

Mr. Johnson became drunk and behaved in an offensive way. He asked for the privilege of asking forgiveness from the congregation. He was allowed to do this at the forthcoming annual meeting of that body.[1]

Sexual Immorality.--A second vice which frequently demanded the disciplinary attention of the various congregational councils was sexual immorality.

The Brockton church council was faced with the case of Miss Ella L. Johnson who was living with a married man (simply called Mr. Schilling) whose wife was living in another state. Miss Johnson, after having lived awhile with Mr. Schilling, married him but without his having troubled himself with getting a divorce from his first wife.

On October 19, 1906, Miss Johnson had been married. On November 2, Pastor J. Alfred Anderson reported that Miss Johnson refused to sever the relationship. Consequently, on February 24, 1907, the council decided that "according to God's Word and our church constitution, such a marriage cannot be justified and [Miss Johnson] is therefore excommunicated from the congregation."[2] (trans.)

With less detail included, the Quincy church council in its minutes recorded: "Inasmuch as Miss Theresia

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[1] Ibid., January 12, 1906. [2] Ibid.

Anderson for a long time has been guilty of an unchaste and indecent life, be it resolved that she be excluded from the congregation."[1] (trans.)

As in the case of drunkenness, however, so it was in instances of sexual immorality that the desire was to correct rather than simply to punish. This same council which excommunicated Miss Anderson decided not to do so against Miss Ranghilda Johnson who had given birth to a child. The council summoned her to present herself for a hearing on March 26, 1900.[2] This she failed to do as she also did on a later designated date, April 10th. Before this later meeting, however, the errant maiden had been in conversation with the pastor. As a result of such counseling, the council decided:

> Inasmuch as she showed herself repentant before the pastor over the crime she had committed and that there is hope that she will hereafter repent,
> Be it resolved that this time the matter be closed and that pastor deliver the church council's warning and communicate this resolution to her.[3] (trans.)

Similar reformative regard was shown in the case of Gertrude Emelia Gustafson. She was guilty of committing adultery with Oskar Alfred Gustafson who was excommunicated

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[1]"Protokollsbok för kyrkorådet (Minutes of the Church Council): 1897-1911," November 18, 1903.

[2]Ibid., March 15, 1900, p. 22.

[3]Ibid., April 10, 1900, p. 24.

but, because of Gertrude Gustafson's repentant attitude over her "part in the breaking of the commandment," she was allowed to remain in the congregation.[1]

"Sinful Affairs" (dancing, etc.).--A third area considered as immoral was composed of a large number of activities among which the dance ranked as especially evil. A. J. Hallington wrote as late as 1927:

> There are here as in other ways two directions. One direction is that where one does not seek for God's will but seeks his joy in card playing, dancing, theater, drinking, and in rough immoral conversation. The other direction never departs from seeking his joy and trust in God, to do His will and more and more learn the knowledge of eternal and heavenly things in which direction God does all things well.[2] (trans.)

The activities of dancing, card-playing, theater, etc. were looked upon with a seriousness that involved the very way of salvation itself. Since salvation was the ultimate concern of the church, these Swedish Lutherans thought it their responsibility to discipline erring members lest they be lost.

When the Boston congregation faced the need to engage an organist in 1893, it was stipulated that this person must "promise not to attend balls, theaters, or

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[1]"Kyrkorådets protokollsbok (Minutes of the Church Council): 1889-1907" (Waltham), June 8, 1899.

[2]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1917-28" (Woburn), January 10, 1927, p. 155.

any such sinful affairs nor lead any choir outside the congregation."[1] (trans.) Even the local chapter of the Augustana Aid Society in this congregation found occasion to condemn the dance. It was considered regrettable that there were not more members in this organization even though it offered better benefits than other such societies "which have dances and other questionable entertainment. It is those members of the congregation who elect these forms of activity of whom we complain."[2]

A typical instance of complaint and discipline against "sinful activities" is given in the records of Augustana (Cambridge):

> Some [of our members] are given to strong drink and in relation to this have made themselves slaves to indecent living; some are at length drawn into the dance and gambling and, sad to say, neither we lack those who have sunk into immorality and others into awful evil. Some of these have been privately warned; others have been presented to the Deacons to handle while still others stand under their discipline.[3] (trans.)

The records of the case of Theodor Hermanson of the Quincy congregation give quite a complete picture of the mood and the process of discipline in these churches.

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1886-1916," October 19, 1893, p. 133.

[2]Ibid., February 10, 1910, p. 267.

[3]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1892-1915," January 14, 1907, p. 207.

Mr. Hermanson was a member of a group known as the Scandinavian American Pole Star Society "which claimed to have for its object training in gymnastics but actually sponsored balls and dances."[1] (trans.) The records go on to say:

> Theodor Hermanson appeared before the Church Council March 13, 1906 on the charge of belonging to a Scandinavian American Pole Star Society which sponsored dances and also for his leading a Mr. Swanson away from the church into this life. It was decided that on the following Sunday a warning was to be read from the pulpit at both morning and evening services that members engaging in dancing and drinking should be disciplined.[2] (trans.)

The full text of the statement read from the pulpit follows:

> It is to be expected that every member in a Christian congregation, on the basis of the voice of his own conscience as well as respect for and obedience both to the Word of God and the constitution of the congregation, should keep from sinful and shocking behavior. But inasmuch as lamentable behavior exists, that there are members within this congregation who, in neglect of the duties which both the Word of God and the constitution of the congregation command them, participate in the world's sinful pleasures and affairs, to the injury both of the congregation and their own welfare; therefore, the church council has arrived at the following resolution:
>
> Be it resolved that if any of the members of the congregation is guilty of attending or is guilty of enticing another to attend dances and other such functions, or is guilty of drunkenness or otherwise

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[1] "Protokollsbok för kyrkorådet (Minutes of the Church Council): 1897-1911," March 13, 1906, pp. 94-95.

[2] Ibid.

> participates in such activities which are inconsistent with the Christian life or the fellowship of the congregation, discipline will be applied according to the constitution of the congregation without respect of person.
>
> Be it resolved that the congregation is God's institution on earth and every member of the congregation should regard it as such and ought to be careful that he does not through an example cause others to fall.[1] (trans.)

The discipline against Hermanson began in August, 1904 when two deacons were assigned to confer with him regarding "irregularities as a member of the church."[2] At the October 11th meeting, the deacons reported that Mr. Hermanson had "made acknowledgment and promised amendment."[3] Nearly a year later, the council took more drastic action. Apparently Hermanson's "promised amendment" did not materialize because he was summoned to appear before the council on October 24, 1905. The errant member failed to appear and he was excommunicated.[5]

The following month, on November 2nd, Hermanson, having been granted the request, appeared before the

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[1] Ibid., March 13, 1906, pp. 97-99.

[2] Ibid., August 2, 1904, p. 68.

[3] Ibid., p. 68.

[4] Ibid., October 11, 1905, pp. 80-81.

[5] Ibid., pp. 82-83.

council to argue his case. His situation was reconsidered and he was reinstated.[1] Six days later, Hermanson again met with the deacons and requested that the congregation be informed as to why he had been accused and excommunicated and also that it be told why he had been restored.[2]

A few months later, on March 2, 1906, the council again found it necessary to summon Mr. Hermanson to appear.[3] It was at this meeting the records clarified his relationship with the Scandinavian Pole Star Society. Hermanson was spoken to with "friendliness, seriousness, and firmness," and he requested that he be given until March 20th to give his answer.[4] It was on the previous Sunday, March 18th that the statement, already referred to, was read from the pulpit. The conclusion to this case came on March 20th when the records stated that "since Mr. Hermanson has not shown any improvement, he be striken from the rolls."[5]

Certainly, on the one hand, the deliberate manner in which the cases of discipline were handled was impressive. "That this [work of discipline] is not done without

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[1] Ibid., pp. 84-85.

[2] Ibid., November 8, 1905, pp. 85-86.

[3] Ibid., pp. 92-93. [4] Ibid., pp. 94-95.

[5] Ibid., p. 100.

pain to the members of the church council should be clear to all. May God give grace to every member of the congregation to be faithful: to himself, his God, and his congregation."[1]

On the other hand, the determination and the belief in the necessity to exercise discipline was clear and decisive. In the early years, the church councils took seriously this function as a God-given task.

(iii) Delinquency in the Financial Support of the Church

The third area in which discipline was exercised was in the matter of financial support of the church. The difficulty for the Swedish immigrants to assume this responsibility after coming from a country where the church was supported from taxes has already been discussed,[2] but in a slightly different relationship. In that instance, the dichotomy between the unwillingness of the immigrants to join and support the church and their dependence upon the sacramental ministry and certain ritual services was emphasized. The main group dealt with in this previous section was non-member Swedes to whom the congregations ministered.

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[1]Julius Hulteen, vice-pastor, "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1910-22" (Montello), January 8, 1913.

[2]Supra, pp. 79, 140-43.

In this section, the group to be considered is the members of the church who failed to support financially the work of the congregations.

Every congregation had this problem. A typical procedure was such as followed by the Quincy congregation. The board of trustees, which was responsible for the financial affairs of the church, would bring in the names of members who had not fulfilled their financial obligations. The deacons (church council) would then visit these members and on the basis of their response, make their decisions. Where sufficient improvement was not forthcoming, such members were separated from the congregation. The word "excommunicate" was abandoned and such persons were designated as "dropped" from the church rolls.[1]

Of the three grounds for exclusion of members from the congregation--heresy, immorality, and financial delinquency--only the last of these continued to be a reason for loss of membership. By the time of the first World War, there are no records of excommunication on the grounds of heresy (which apparently had never been an occasion for such action). (See supra, pp 212-214) or immorality. Financial delinquency alone remained as a ground for dismissal from the congregation. It is significant that this one

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1897-1910," February 15, 1910, p. 138.

ground (financial delinquency) for discipline in the American situation could hardly have occurred in the tax supported church in Sweden. But the two grounds (heresy and immorality) upon which charges could be made in the church in Sweden could not be enforced in America.

(3) The Breakdown of Discipline

In 1870, the secretary of the Augustana Synod said: "The exercise of church discipline is extremely difficult in this country."[1] (italics mine.) In 1900, the Augustana Synod passed a resolution "deploring the fact that in many places church discipline was administered much too loosely."[2]

America's pluralism allowed the Swedish Lutherans to make choices. If conditions of discipline were considered too stringent, these persons could choose to join other groups. One "Herr Ryberg" together with his family wanted to join the church in Brockton. At the time of his request for membership, he belonged to two organizations called United Workmen and the Foresters. Ryberg was asked to drop his membership in the Foresters and instead join the local chapter of the Augustana Aid

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[1]Engberg, p. 130. [2]Ibid.

Society.[1]

After some consideration, Herr Ryberg decided not to join rather than resign from the Foresters because this organization offered him more comprehensive coverage than did the Aid Society of the church. Among the advantages offered by the Foresters was the payment of unemployment benefits even if he should move more than twenty-five miles away from his present location.[2] Hence, both the pluralism of America, which offered a choice and mobility, facilitated by America's space, made impossible the imposition of church discipline upon Herr Ryberg. It was a far easier matter not to belong to the Lutheran church in America, if one preferred, than was the case in Sweden.

Those desiring membership in a local congregation of the Swedish Lutherans were required to appear before the church council. This was in keeping with the Augustana Synod requirement as stated in the 1891 edition of the 1870 constitution for congregations: "Adults shall be instructed before their baptism, and their religious knowledge as well as the state of their mind

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[1]"Protokollsbok över kyrkorådets förhandlingar (Minutes of the Proceedings of the Church Council): 1902-19," June 28, 1904.

[2]Ibid., July 26, 1904.

and heart carefully inquired into."[1] (trans.) After 1895, however, the records show no further compliance with this stipulation in the Waltham church.[2] The Brockton church council continued the practice as late as 1903.[3]

Even the discipline imposed on the basis of delinquency in the financial support of the church was restrained because of American pluralism. In 1913, the Norwood congregation did not raise its membership dues because too many would leave the congregation.[4]

Policy also had to be adjusted in the matter of certain organizations. For a time, Augustana looked with reservation upon the Boy Scout Movement, but in 1927, the Confirmands' Society of Cambridge questioned whether there should not be a Boy Scout organization in the church to keep the boys from joining similar groups in other churches.[5]

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[1]Art. VI, sec. 1, quoted in "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1889-1912," p. 11.

[2]Ibid., July 9, 1895.

[3]"Protokollsbok över kyrkorådets förhandlingar (Minutes of the Proceedings of the Church Council): 1902-19," July 24, 1903.

[4]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1907-22," March 5, 1913, p. 68.

[5]"Protokollsbok för konfirmandsförbundet (Minutes of the Confirmands Society): 1901-30," April 9, 1928, p. 126.

By the beginning of World War I, discipline for heresy (which had at best been vague) and immorality was no longer practiced. In 1908, Pastor E. J. Peterson (Waltham) reported that "No difficult cases of discipline have arisen. In one instance, there was a consultation on the ground of drunkenness."[1] The last recorded excommunication in this congregation was in 1897.[2] The last excommunication in the Quincy and Brockton congregations were in 1906[3] and 1907[4] respectively. Almost a decade earlier, in 1897, the last excommunication is recorded for the Boston congregation.[5] In the earlier years, the names of members who had been excluded were read from the pulpit, but by 1920 it was decided that not even this gesture toward discipline should be continued.[6] With the excommunication of the Ernst Ingman family in

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1889-1912," January 2, 1908, p. 297.

[2]"Kyrkorådets protokollsbok (Minutes of Church Council): 1889-1907."

[3]Supra, p. 217.

[4]"Protokollsbok över kyrkorådets förhandlingar (Minutes of the Proceedings of the Church Council): 1902-19," February 24, 1907.

[5]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1886-1916," January 20, 1898, p. 149.

[6]"Protokollsbok över styrelsemöten (Minutes of the Board of Administration Meeting): 1920-43," December 6, 1920, p. 18.

1909, no later records of such action in the North Easton church are found.[1] By the twenties not only "excommunicated" but the term "dropped" was employed with more hesitancy. In 1926, instead of being dropped, nine members were placed on the "uncertain" list for one year.[2]

With one exception,[3] the last exclusion occurred in the Gethsemane church (Montello) in 1912.[4] The extent to which the exercise of discipline had weakened was suggested by the action taken by the Norwood congregation in 1922 when it ruled that if any member wished to be stricken from the rolls of the church, he must make known such wishes to the congregation.[5]

By the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century, the American environment had all but destroyed the exercise of church discipline on the grounds

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1908-16," January 18, 1909, p. 23.

[2]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1917-36," January 18, 1926, p. 125.

[3]In 1926, John Englund was suspended for two years from the Somerville congregation. According to very scanty evidence, the reason seems to have been on the grounds of insubordination as a member of the board of administration to that board. "Protokollsbok över styrelsemöten (Minutes of the Board of Administration Meetings): 1925-34," January 18, 1927, p. 57.

[4]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1910-22," January 8, 1913.

[5]"Kyrkostyrelsens handlingar (Proceedings of the Church Board of Administration): 1918-28," January 5, 1923, p. 22.

of heresy and immorality. Pluralism, with its choice of alternative allegiances, and voluntarism and mobility in American space, which offered escape and remoteness, had accomplished this. Only delinquency in financial support of the church remained as a ground for discipline. Even this was but a shell of the earlier control the congregations had attempted to hold over their members. By the time discipline for financial delinquency would be applied, the members in question had already, in most instances, severed their relation with the church. Consequently, not even the term "excommunicated" could be employed. All that could be done was to write "dropped" after their names.

CHAPTER VI

ACQUISITIONS FROM THE SURROUNDING AMERICAN COMMUNITY

The forces of mobility, pluralism, and a dominant Anglo-American culture were also at work in the practices and viewpoints the Swedish Lutheran congregations in the Boston area borrowed from the surrounding American community. It is with these acquisitions that this chapter is concerned.

1. Elements They Acquired

In the process of denominationalization, these congregations acquired from their adopted country the practice of greater reliance on lay leadership, new financial procedures, and new denominational procedures.

i. Greater Reliance on Lay Leadership

Lay participation in church leadership was not entirely unfamiliar to these Swedes. To be sure, there was little opportunity for such in the official church in Sweden. The pietistic awakening, however, gave opportunity for lay leadership in the movement led by Rosenius.

Even though this movement had pretty well died out by the time the immigrants of the Boston area arrived, its effects continued to influence even these later arrivals in America.

(1) The Swedish Background for Lay Leadership

One of the sources of pietism was the influence of George Scott, already described.[1] Among the channels of pietistic influence was the publication of a monthly paper entitled Pietisten which Scott began in 1842 together with Carl Olaf Rosenius.[2] Just at this time, because of unfavorable things he had said about Swedish religious life on a trip to America, Scott was forced to leave Sweden, and Rosenius became the leader of the pietistic emphasis in Sweden. He continued to edit Pietisten which was widely read by Swedish Lutherans in the Augustana Synod in America.[3]

The Methodist Scott had greatly influenced Rosenius. The latter adopted two practices from Methodism: distribution of Christian literature by colporteurs and preaching

[1] Supra, pp. 49-50.

[2] Hjalmar Holmquist, Handbok i svensk kyrkohistoria (Handbook in Swedish Church History), Vol. III, Från romantiken till första världskriget (From Romanticism to the First World War) (2nd ed.: Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1952), p. 71.

[3] Olson, The Augustana Lutheran Church in America: 1860-1910, p. 31.

by laymen who were attached to no particular parish.[1] Rosenius, a very effective preacher, was himself never ordained.

(i) The Augustana Synod

The practice of lay leadership came from Sweden to the Boston area through two avenues. One of these was indirectly through the Augustana Synod. The early leaders of the Synod had been influenced by pietism and at least one of them, Esbjörn, had been associated with Scott in the cause of temperance.[2] The first pastor in the first congregation (New Sweden, Iowa), organized in 1848 and which was to be a part of the Augustana Synod was at first a layman.[3] These factors early acquainted Augustana with lay leadership.

(ii) The Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen

The Evangeliska fosterlands-stiftelsen (The National Evangelical Union) exerted an even more direct influence upon the Boston congregations toward lay leadership. Organized in Sweden by Rosenius in 1856,[4] its

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[1]Holmquist, p. 71.

[2]Olson, The Augustana Lutheran Church in America: 1846-1860, pp. 110-11.

[3]Arden, Augustana Heritage, pp. 24-25.

[4]Evangeliska fosterlands-stiftelsens 50-åriga Verksamet (Fifty Years of Activity of the National

purpose was manifold: printing, publication and distribution of Christian literature, lay deputations, organizations of local societies, missions (both home and foreign), Sunday schools and work among young people.

It was this organization which sent one of the first pastors to the Boston area. Rev. C. F. Johansson had been a missionary from this society to East Africa. Because of ill health, he was forced to leave East Africa. From this background, he came to become the first resident pastor of the first Swedish Lutheran congregation in the city of Boston in 1873. Significantly, he came as a layman. In 1874, he was ordained by the Augustana Synod.[1]

(2) The American Need for Lay Leadership

It was not the Swedish background, however, that determined the practice of lay leadership in Augustana. Rather, the pressure of the American situation demanded such in the Swedish Lutheran churches of the Boston area.

Although the early leaders of the Synod were not unsympathetic with laymen assuming roles of leadership, by 1870, their minds had changed. A number of factors entered in to effect this, primarily the increase in

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Evangelical Union): 1856-1906 (Stockholm: Evangeliska fosterlands-stiftelsens förlags-expedition, 1906), pp. 18-19.

[1] Ibid., p. 204.

immigration and the conflict with the Mission Covenant movement.

In 1860, there were relatively few Swedish immigrants who had come to America. In the first half of the decade of the sixties, the Civil War kept down the number who could leave Sweden. After this conflict, large numbers began to come. By 1870, the number of Swedish immigrants was considerably increased. This is reflected in the growth of the Augustana Church. At the time of its organization in 1860, there were 36 congregations with 3,748 members. In 1870, there were 99 congregations with 16,376 members.[1] The number of congregations had increased almost three-fold; the number of members, over four-fold.

The year 1870 was the beginning of two decades of great missionary endeavor on the part of the Augustana Synod in the United States. This missionary concern has been surpassed only in recent times.[2] This activity was due to the tremendous immigration of Swedes in the seventies and eighties, reaching its peak in 1882 and the second highest figure in 1888.[3]

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[1]Swensson och Abrahamson (Swensson and Abrahamson), p. 448.

[2]Olson, The Augustana Lutheran Church in America: 1860-1910, p. 20.

[3]Supra, p. 34.

In face of this large influx of Swedish Lutherans, the leaders of Synod apparently felt the need of a stronger structure of church government. In the constitution of 1870, an important change was made in the creation of a synodical council made up of the president of Synod and the presidents and one layman, elected by Synod, from each of the conferences. This council was to meet twice a year to receive, examine, and recommend applicants for ordination and to prepare items for synodical action.[1] Heretofore, these matters had been the work of Synod in meeting with equal representation of pastors and laymen. There were those who feared this change might make of the president of Synod a bishop and the council might become a consistory.[2] This was but the beginning of a development. By 1890, a presbyterian type of government appeared.

Another development took place around 1870 which tended to harden the clergy against lay leadership. This was the controversy with the lay-oriented Mission Covenant group.

Although this group was not organized until 1878,[3] when it broke away from the Evangeliska fosterlands-stiftelsen, the movement had begun several years before

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[1]Olson, pp. 46-47. [2]Ibid., p. 47.

[3]Holmquist, p. 130.

both in Sweden and America. Congregations were actually organized before 1878 which later became Mission Covenant churches.

The first such in the United States was founded on July 4th, 1868 in Swede Bend, Iowa. This congregation was begun by a cobbler, C. A. Björk, who with his group separated from the Lutheran congregation in that place. In December of the same year, the "Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Mission Association" was formed in Chicago among members of the Immanuel Lutheran Church. Eventually the association separated and formed a congregation.[1] The controversy was intense through the decades of the seventies and eighties. The Augustana Synod deposed at least one of its pastors because of his association with the Covenant.[2] This relationship with the Mission Covenant movement drew Augustana toward a greater clerical emphasis.

Yet, America forced upon Augustana, in spite of itself, a large measure of dependence upon lay leadership. Even the leaders of Synod had to submit to this fact of the American situation. Dr. T. N. Hasselquist, who was the Synod's first president and president of Augustana

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[1] Olson, p. 34.

[2] J. G. Princell in 1878. See Olson, The Augustana Lutheran Church: 1860-1910, p. 34.

College and Theological Seminary (Rock Island, Illinois) from 1863 to 1891, visited Sweden in 1870. The primary purpose of this trip was to recruit students and pastors to work among the congregations in America. It was to the Evangeliska fosterlands-stiftelsen with its strong emphasis, both in theory and practice, upon lay leadership that Hasselquist made his appeal:

> I have begged before, now I demand; the homeland can do something and ought to do something to help. A heavy responsibility rests upon its shoulders. You send missionaries to Asia and Africa, but not to America.[1]

It is a rather ironic fact that the same condition (i.e., the heavy immigration) which led the synodical leaders toward greater emphasis on clerical leadership also forced them to depend heavily on lay leadership. There was a provision in the first constitution for congregations (1860) that a newly ordained pastor should "serve at least three months under an active pastor in order to acquire practical knowledge of the duties of the office of the ministry."[2] The heavy demand for leadership made it impossible to enforce even this modicum of clerical supervision. It is little wonder that America forced Augustana to lay leadership far beyond what the

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[1] Augustana, 1872, p. 35, quoted in Olson, p. 17.

[2] Olson, p. 46.

church of Sweden had allowed or for which the immigrants were prepared.

The unreadiness of these lay people for leadership was an acknowledged fact in the Boston area as well as elsewhere in the Synod.

> The young congregations had many obstacles to contend with. Inexperience in church affairs could gradually be overcome. Few, if any, had much experience in church leadership, nor do the records show that any of the charter members had previously been connected with any of the Augustana Synod churches. Most of the people that came to Lynn came directly from the mother countries abroad.[1] (trans.)

Yet, leadership they had to assume and the pastors of the area had to accept this condition of dependence upon laymen.

As has been noted,[2] C. F. Johansson, who came to the first church in Boston and the second oldest Swedish Lutheran church in the entire state of Massachusetts, came from the Evangeliska fosterlands-stiftelsen as a layman. In his ministry, he portrayed the same sympathy for, and encouragement of, lay leadership as did the society in Sweden from which he had come. Through his influence, the Emmanuel congregation became the mother church of six others in the area.[3] According to

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[1]First Evangelical Lutheran Church, "50th Anniversary" (Lynn, Mass., 1941), p. 25.

[2]Supra, pp. 154-56, 234-35. [3]Lindberg, p. 45.

Pastor Johansson's daughter, Mrs. Hilding Hanson, four of these were the ones in Norwood, Waltham, Montello, and Quincy. Mrs. Hanson revealed that her father trained many of his deacons to be lay preachers.[1] Other sources identify some of these deacons as Carl Schuck, Anders Nilsson, J. O. Fredrickson, Carl Cedergren, B. N. Wennerblad, and T. V. Gustafson.[2]

The above-mentioned Anders Nilsson was engaged by the congregation as city missionary.[3] He and his successors continued this work until 1901 when a congregation was about to be established in East Boston.

Laymen frequently presided either at the organization or the meetings of incorporation of these various congregations.[4] There is at least one instance in which the vice-pastor (Henning Jacobson) was voted out as

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[1]Interview with Mrs. Hilding Hanson, member of Augustana Lutheran Church, Cambridge, Mass., and daughter of the late C. F. Johansson, pastor of Emmanuel Lutheran Church, Boston, Mass. from 1873 to 1913.

[2]Emmanuel Lutheran Church, "Eightieth Anniversary: 1874-1954" (Boston [Roxbury], Mass.), p. 3.

[3]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1886-1916," February 21, 1895, p. 140.

[4]Ibid., October 17, 1877, p. 5; "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1889-1912" (Waltham), November 25, 1889, pp. i, 5; "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1892-1907" (North Easton), March 22, 1892, pp. 3-12; "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1893-1906" (Woburn), September 1, 1893, pp. 23-24.

moderator and a layman (John C. Pike) was elected to lead the congregational meeting.[1] Whenever pastors found it necessary to attend church meetings, they had to depend upon laymen to fill the pulpits. Statements such as the following frequently appear in the records: "Decided that deacons should have charge of services on Sunday, April 22nd in the absence of Pastor Peterson";[2] "In the absence of the pastor while at Synod, two laymen shall lead the morning and evening services."[3]

The long term pastoral vacancies were far more demanding upon the laymen. This was especially true of the smaller congregations. During the first thirty-eight years of the life of the Malden congregation, at least nine laymen served the church. Pastoral vacancies were frequent and sometimes long, one of which lasted nine years.[4] The Gethsemane congregation (Montello) was in existence for sixteen years before it procured its first resident pastor (N. J. Lundahl). During this period,

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[1]Gilinson (Lowell), pp. 12-13.

[2]"Kyrkorådets protokollsbok (Minutes of Church Council): 1889-1907" (Waltham), April 11, 1906.

[3]"Krykostyrelsens handlingar" (Proceedings of Board of Administration) (Norwood), April 28, 1924, p. 125.

[4]First Evangelical Lutheran Church, "Golden Jubilee: 1893-1943," pp. 4-5.

the congregation was served by twenty-four students, laymen, and vice-pastors.[1]

The shortage of pastors served as a force to lure men away from parishes to more attractive fields of service. N. E. Kron wrote to his congregation (Woburn): "In these times of great need for pastors, when every pastor has several calls, he can easily find another place if a door closes. I cannot say how many invitations and calls I have received just this past year."[2]

During these vacancies, deacons from other congregations often supplied the pulpit. One such person was Deacon David Anderson of Cambridge. When the congregation at Norwood was vacant in 1923 and again in 1926, Anderson supplied the pulpit.[3] Another instance of his service was during a three year vacancy in Waltham from 1919 to 1922.[4] He was but one of several men who gave this valuable lay leadership.

Even though these Swedish Lutheran immigrants had not been prepared by their life in Sweden for such

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[1]Gethsemane Lutheran Church, "Sixtieth Anniversary Observance Bulletin" (November 5-6, 1955), p. 4.

[2]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1893-1906," January 13, 1902, p. 112.

[3]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1922-41," pp. 12, 86.

[4]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1913-28," pp. 170-71.

tasks in America, the need for such in this country seemed to evoke this capacity. One important source for creating this leadership was the organizations. It has already been observed that numerous organizations arose within the congregations here in America.[1] This was very different from the church in Sweden where no such auxiliaries existed.

In America, these societies served to train leaders. With rare exceptions, these organizations were founded and led by laymen. The example of the Young People's Society of Waltham is but one of many such instances. The members of this group formed their own constitution, conducted their own business meetings, and arranged for a continuing schedule of programs which included worship, debates, declamations, readings, and a variety of musical numbers.[2]

In certain instances, the pastors themselves encouraged important roles for the laymen. Again and again, even though the pastor was present, he would call on a layman to open or close a meeting with devotions. Pastor A. M. Benander followed a common procedure when he called

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[1] Supra, pp. 147-49.

[2] "Ungdoms föreningen hoppets protokollsbok (Minutes of Young People's Society of Hope): 1892-1901."

upon Mr. T. V. Gustafson to close with prayer the meeting at which it had been decided to buy the property at 94 Warren Street (Roxbury).[1]

This total impact of the American situation brought forth a leadership from laymen that served the church adequately enough to maintain congregations. When Sigfrid Swenson came to Woburn in 1904 as the pastor of the congregation, it had been without a pastor for nearly two years. He wrote: "The congregation has done honor to itself through the faithfulness and diligence of the deacons, C. J. Johanson and Per Olson."[2] (trans.) North Easton did not have a resident pastor for the first five years (1892-97) of its existence. In 1912, Pastor A. C. H. Helander in his brief historical sketch wrote: "All these pastors and laymen have in faithfulness sowed the noble seed of God's Word and the congregation has steadily grown both in the sense of the outer life as well as, we believe, in the inner."[3] (trans.)

Yet, just as Augustana as a whole had shown reluctance to employ lay leadership, so the Boston area pastors

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1886-1916" (Boston), April 1, 1915, p. 332.

[2]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1893-1906," January 9, 1905, p. 173.

[3]Helander, p. 4.

revealed a like attitude. Implicitly, at least, there seems to have been some conflict between certain of the congregations and the pastors at this point. At its meeting in 1899, the conference passed the following resolution:

> The conference severely disapproves of the unchristian procedure where congregations, which, although they could call a pastor and are encouraged to do so, are determined to be vacant and be served by students to the detriment of them [the students], the congregations, and God's Kingdom.[1] (trans.)

These churches in the East were clear about the restricted privileges of the laymen in conducting the worship. In 1907, it was ruled that if a deacon had to lead in the service, he could read a sermon but he could not conduct the liturgy from in front of the altar nor could any other layman without proper license.[2]

Between Augustana and the Boston area churches there was agreement on the restrictions to be placed on the use of laymen. In 1913, the New England Conference received instructions from the Synod's seminary (on the grounds that the unity of the Synod be not threatened by

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[1] Referat . . . New York konferensens 29: de årsmöte (Reports . . . Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting of the New York Conference), p. 16.

[2] Förhandlingar . . . New York-konferensens trettiosjunde årsmöte (Proceedings . . . Twenty-seventh Annual Meeting of the New York Conference), p. 24.

uneducated persons in the ministry).

> Resolved, that the theological faculty urgently petitions the various conferences and the Synodical Home Mission Board not to recommend any more candidates for the ministry to study "in absentia," but that they be ordered to spend such time of resident work at the seminary as the theological faculty may prescribe for each candidate, so that they may be imbued with the spirit of our Synod and be properly fitted to serve the special interest of our people in America.[1] (trans.)

In 1914, the New England Conference decreed that as soon as a congregation became vacant, it must call a vice-pastor, preferably one who was minister in the Swedish Lutheran congregation located nearest to it.[2]

The Synod and the Boston area churches probably arrived at this point by different routes. In its conflict with other groups, especially the Mission Covenant church, the Synod saw the need for greater control over its clergymen.

The Boston area churches, on the other hand, seemed to be consistent here, too, in their sympathy with the churchly view in Sweden. The source of their suspicion of lay leadership was their love for the church in Sweden with its high-church emphasis.

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[1] Förhandlingar . . . New England-konferensens första årsmöte (Proceedings . . . First Annual Meeting of the New England Conference), p. 84.

[2] Förhandlingar . . . New England-konferensens andra årsmöte (Proceedings . . . Second Annual Meeting of the New England Conference), p. 66.

The churches of the East were sometimes critical of the Synod for the inability of the latter to supply pastors. In 1883, the president of the New York Conference complained that if "the brothers in the West do not become more willing to come and help us in the work, then we shall have to call upon capable laymen, give them the necessary instruction and recommend them for ordination."[1] Lindberg expressed the need for a school in the East but deplored the lack of financial means to organize one.[2]

In 1907, Gustaf Nelsenius in his presidential report to the same body criticized the Synod that while it had never been better situated to attract young men to the ministry, its seminary now had no more students graduating than it did twenty-five years ago.[3]

There were numerous instances when the Boston area churches attempted to obtain pastors from Sweden. In some instances, they tried to do so even when men trained by the Augustana Seminary were available. This may suggest on the part of the Boston area churches, if not a suspicion of Augustana's ability to educate men for the ministry, at least an indication of higher admiration for the Swedish

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[1] Protokoll . . . New York-konferensens trettonde årsmöte (Minutes . . . Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the New York Conference), p. 11.

[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., p. 19.

theological education. For the most part, these attempts to secure pastoral help from Sweden failed.

In 1871, the congregation at Brockton called Pastor S. Ekstrom from Jönköping, Sweden but received a negative reply.[1] The Lutheran church at North Easton called Axell C. Anderson from Västergötland. He came in 1915 but stayed only one year and returned to Sweden.[2] The Lowell congregation was served by A. Malmstrom. He, like Anderson at North Easton, stayed only one year.[3] The church at Woburn issued a call to P. M. Linden from Muskö, Sweden in 1902[4] and again, in 1919, the members attempted to procure as their pastor Carl W. Ander of Eskilstuna, Sweden.[5] In both instances, negative answers

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[1]Svenska evangelisk-luterska församlingen (Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Congregation), "Protokollsbok," (Minutes): 1868-1886" (Campello, Mass.), May 1, 1871.

[2]Svenska evangelisk-luterska församlingen (Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Congregation), "Protokoll över diakonsmöten: januari, 1895-juni, 1934 (Minutes of Deacons' Meetings: January, 1895-June, 1934) (North Easton), January 25, 1912, p. 89.

[3]Elizabeth Gilinson, "Book of Remembrance: Trinity Lutheran Church" (Lowell, Mass., 1957), p. 3.

[4]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1893-1906" (Woburn, Mass.), October 6, 1902, p. 133.

[5]Svenska evangelisk-luterska församlingen (Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Congregation), "Protokoll över kyrkorådetsmöten (Minutes of Church Council Meetings): 1899-1919" (Woburn, Mass.), April 7, 1919.

were received.

The most fortunate of the Boston Swedish Lutheran churches was the congregation in Waltham when it obtained as its minister Wilhelm Ljung. He served from 1895 to 1900 but then resigned to return to his homeland. In 1929, he sent a message of congratulations to the Waltham church for the observation of its fortieth anniversary. At that time he was vicar at Stenkyrka, Sweden.[1]

Perhaps the more secure parish positions in Sweden with greater opportunities for advancement proved too attractive in contrast to the more unsettled Swedish Lutheran congregations in America wrestling with a free-church relationship at the political level and a non-episcopal system at the level of church polity. In any event, the churches around Boston found themselves dependent upon the same source of training and supply for their pastors as did all the other congregations in the Augustana Synod, namely, the Augustana Seminary.

Whatever the reluctance or the source of it, and whatever controls they felt called upon to place on it, lay leadership for both the Synod and the Boston area congregations was a need imposed by America. The use of lay

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[1]First Lutheran Church, "Fortieth Anniversary Bulletin: 1889-1929" (Waltham, Mass.).

leadership could not be avoided. So, these congregations came to terms with the situation the best way they knew how.

ii. New Financial Procedures

Few problems were as vexing to these Swedish Lutheran congregations as the matter of financial support. This arose principally from the fact that in America, there was no other means for the furtherance of the work of the church than through voluntary contributions. In Sweden, the church was tax supported and, closely related to this, was the Swedish viewpoint of the church as the folk church.

(1) Early Years

As noted elsewhere, the Lutheran church in Sweden is a folk church. This means it is responsible to the whole people. As late as 1951, one could not leave the church of Sweden without giving a reason for such action. However, even though a Swedish citizen may now leave the church, very few have actually done so. This national character of the church with relatively little competition has created a "collectivist piety" that has been nurtured through the centuries by the church's preaching, sacramental, and pastoral ministry.[1] The people have

[1]Robert Murray (ed.), The Church of Sweden (Malmö: Allhem, 1960), p. 32.

come to expect this almost as a birthright.[1]

But this concept of the church in Sweden also included the support of the church through public taxation. When the Swedish immigrants came to America, they could not easily make the change in thinking between the tax supported state church in Sweden and the free church (no matter what the denomination may be) arrangement in America whereby no government support was available. Only by voluntary contribution of the people could the local congregations be assured of continuing existence and service.

It was this dichotomy between the two situations that many of the immigrants simply were not willing to accept. They still had a strong conviction that the Swedish Lutheran church in America was responsible for at least certain of the sacramental and ritual ministry to

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[1]This "collectivist piety" is of centuries long standing. Although Sweden is generally considered to be low numerically as a church attending nation, her people still consider membership in the Lutheran church important as well as her sacramental and ritual ministry. Nils Rodén, lector at the Secondary School of Västervik, Sweden and an ordained minister in the Church of Sweden, observes that although anyone in Sweden (since 1951) may now leave the church without joining another religious body, only about 30,000 persons (less than 0.5 per cent of the population) have taken advantage of this. "The latest statistics show that 85.52 per cent of children are baptized in the church, and 86.65 per cent are confirmed. Of marriages, 91.35 per cent are solemnized by a church ceremony; of burials, 96.11 per cent are church-performed. National church members total over 95 per cent of Swedes." "Sweden," Christianity Today, VI, No. 21 (July 20, 1962), 1010.

their needs. They took this for granted. But they refused to assume the personal obligation of financial and other support of the church which the relationship of church and state required. They expected and received the ministry of the church especially at four important times in their lives: baptism, confirmation, marriage, and burial. This was a significant part of the folk church heritage which large numbers of immigrants retained.

But attendance at services and support of the church seem not to have been part of the Swedish heritage. At least they were not practiced when these immigrants came to America. Hence, Pastor Hilmer Larson of Lynn wrote: "Our countrymen ought to more diligently attend the services than some are doing. The Lutheran church is our folks' church."[1] (trans.) Pastor L. W. Gullstrom of Norwood pointed specifically to this dichotomy when he noted that there was a class of Swedes who desired the ministry of the church at times of baptism, confirmation, marriage, sickness and death. Apart from that, they would have nothing to do with the church. They were even hostile to the church and to members within it.[2]

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1912-59," January 16, 1919.

[2]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1907-22," January 13, 1916.

(i) Dues or "Taxation"

In the early days, these congregations in large part copied methods they had known in Sweden. There were two primary methods which they used. The first of these was to levy so much per person according to such classifications as age and marital status. The church member looked upon this as a taxation such as he had known in Sweden.

The records of the board of administration of the East Boston congregation in 1902 note: the members of the congregation are this year taxed forty cents per individual by the Augustana Synod for mission work.[1] When the New England Conference to which the Boston area churches belonged adopted the budget system, this method of allocation was called "taxing."[2] This view was still present as late as 1957 when, in her own words, one congregational historial writes that for many years, the allotment to conference and synod was raised "by taxing each adult member 25 cents yearly for conference and 5 cents for synod.[3]

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[1]"Protokollsbok över styrelsemöten (Minutes of Board of Administration Meetings): 1902-27," October, n.d., 1902, p. 21.

[2]Ibid., May 30, 1927.

[3]Gilinson (Lowell), p. 9.

The dues were usually determined according to sex and age and were quite similar from congregation to congregation. Emmanuel (Boston) assigned $6 per year per family, $5 for a single person and $2 for confirmed members under 18 years of age.[1] The North Easton congregation at a somewhat later time levied dues on a monthly basis at the rate of $1 per family, 75¢ for a single man, 50¢ for a single woman and for confirmed members under 18.[2]

The method of collection of dues used by the Waltham church was employed by several of the congregations. The trustees made monthly calls upon the families to collect their dues.[3]

(ii) Money-Raising Projects

The second means of procuring financial support for the churches was by auctions, bazaars, suppers, etc. This may have come from a combination of both Swedish and American influences.

Few societies raised more money than did the local syföreningar (sewing societies). This organization at

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1886-1916," January 21, 1892, p. 123.

[2]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1908-16," January 18, 1909, pp. 31-32.

[3]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1889-1912," January 5, 1905, p. 237.

Quincy stated its basic reason for existence: "The purpose of this society shall be the manufacture of handmade articles and the sale of these through bazaars. The proceeds shall be for the support of the congregation."[1] To the achievement of this purpose was also added the task of gathering gifts to be sold beside those items made by the women.[2]

The idea of selling handmade articles may well have come from Sweden. An important source of income for the work of the Evangeliska fosterlands-stiftelsen in Sweden was the labor of the local syföreningar. A typical plan was for each member of a local society to give a certain amount to the treasury every three months. These funds would be used to purchase material out of which various kinds of articles would be sewed. They would meet every two weeks as a sewing society. These articles would in turn be sold. The proceeds from these sales were used for the manifold works of the Evangeliska fosterlands-stiftelsen.[3] It is not difficult to see the probability that this particular money-raising

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[1]"Protokoll över syföreningens möten (Minutes of Meetings of Sewing Society): 1906-10."

[2]Ibid.

[3]Evangeliska fosterlands-stiftelsen . . . (National Evangelical Union), pp. 99-100.

method was brought from Sweden.

For the most part, however, these various means of obtaining financial support seem to have come from America. Church suppers, for example, were not a part of Swedish church life. Swedish churches did not even have kitchens although separate church buildings were maintained for such purposes. Augustana churches, including those of the Boston vicinity, adopted this practice from America.[1] Some of the churches in the Boston area had been built without kitchens. Demands imposed by the practice of sponsoring church suppers forced addition of these facilities at a later period.[2] In one instance, when a new building was planned, the stipulation was made to include a kitchen so that no serving need be done in the nave.[3]

Means of raising money as adopted from America were of a wide variety. The Woburn congregation sponsored bazaars, suppers, lectures, auctions, fairs, lawn parties, and many kinds of festivals (including strawberry,

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[1] Synodical Referat (Synodical Report), 1896, p. 11 and Nebraska-konferensens referat (Report of Nebraska Conference, 1910, p. 10, quoted in Lund, pp. 141-42.

[2] "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1886-1916" (Boston), February 28, 1901, p. 183; "Kyrkostyrelsens handlingar (Proceedings of Church Board of Administration): 1918-28" (Norwood), February 28, 1924.

[3] "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1897-1911" (Quincy), January 3, 1909, p. 135.

Gustaf Adolf, Midsummer, and ice cream festivals).[1] The congregation at Malden included most of these means and added a bean supper.[2] Messiah Lutheran Church (Roslindale), in addition to the typical bazaar and supper also sponsored rummage sales, a "calico dinner," sale of magazines, bake sales, a basket social, and penny sales.[3] Even games of chance were used in some of the congregations.[4]

The adoption of these plans served as an acculturating influence, not only because these Swedish Lutheran immigrants borrowed them from America, but the very nature of these projects forced the immigrants to come into contact with the American community.

Part of this contact with the community arose by solicitation of goods from merchants and manufacturers. Each year, the Waltham congregation sold chances on a

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[1]"Kassabok (Treasurer's Book): 1898-1920," pp. 40-178; "Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1893-1906.

[2]"Kyrkostämmar protokollsbok (Minutes of Congregational Meetings): 1907-18."

[3]"Protokollsbok för svenska evangeliska-luterska syföreningen (Minutes for Swedish Evangelical Sewing Society): 1919-28."

[4]"Katarina von Bora föreningen (Katherine von Bora Society): 1907-18" (East Boston), May 14-16, 1908; "Kyrkostyrelsens protokollsbok (Minutes of Church Board of Administration): 1893-1911" (Waltham), September 29, 1903, p. 120.

clock, a ton of coal, and a barrel of flour, all of which were obtained from businessmen in the city of Waltham.[1]

More important was the dependence of the churches upon the American community to patronize these functions. As has already been noted,[2] bazaars were publicized to the whole community. These and similar functions were held in places within the town and cities where they would be readily accessible to the buying public.

(2) Later Years

The search for different means of financial support was prompted by various considerations. A four-fold indictment against methods then being used was as follows: first, Christ drove the money changers our of the temple; secondly, the biblically approved means is by free-will offering; thirdly, the present plan lacks dignity; and, lastly, these methods are generally ineffective as means of raising adequate funds.[3] Similar criticism had been emerging over the previous two decades.

Several of the pastors were in full agreement with this viewpoint and on one or more of these grounds,

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[1] Ibid. [2] Supra, pp. 190-92.

[3] A. D. Mattson in an undated article (probably sometime in 1927) from the Lutheran Companion, the official publication of the former Augustana Synod, quoted in "Syföreningens Protokollsbok (Minutes of Sewing Society): 1904-39," (Boston), December 1, 1927, p. 128.

spoke out against suppers, auctions, and especially bazaars. In 1907, Pastor S. N. Elvin (Quincy) condemned the last of these methods not only on biblical and practical grounds, but also added a third reason for his opposition, civil law. "Bazaars with lotteries are against the law of the land and the Word of God . . . our history shows that the congregation goes farther without bazaars."[1] (trans.)

The congregation heeded Pastor Elvin's criticism and abolished the bazaar. Yet, in two years, the bazaar was reinstated,[2] probably because of the hard times following the panic of 1907. There was as yet seemingly no alternative to the methods which were being used at the time, unsatisfactory though they were regarded to be.

Pastor Olof Lundgren also harshly judged bazaars and fairs as means by which to support the church. He hoped that with all the "headaches and trouble, unnecessary work, unsatisfying experience, and spiritual poverty" involved in these methods that some form of the tithe could be used. "I am convinced," he continued, "that such [the tithe] would be more pleasing both to many members of the congregation and before God."[3] (trans.) Pastor Lundgren

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1889-1911," n.d., 1907, p. 233.

[2]Ibid., January 28, 1909, p. 253.

[3]"Kyrkostämmars Protokollsbok (Minutes of Church Meetings): 1907-18" (Malden), January 16, 1911, p. 53b.

based his appeal on the second verse of the first epistle to the Corinthians: "On the first day of the week, each of you is to put something aside and store it up, as he may prosper, so that contributions need not be made when I come."

In 1914, Pastor Axel Andrea and four laymen of the Waltham church recommended to the congregation that "all forms of lotteries and games be discontinued within the congregation because such are a hindrance to the spread of the Gospel of Christ and thus to the injury of the congregation."[1] The congregation did decide to eliminate the bazaar that year because of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the congregation.[2] The next year, this function was once again restored because "it was necessary for the finances of the church."[3]

These Swedish Lutheran churches were dissatisfied with these means of raising money. They had certain principles by which they wanted to abide, but they were unable to find a concrete way of implementing them. It was to the American churches they turned. Pastor O. Moren (Woburn) said to this congregation:

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1913-28," January 9, 1914, p. 32.

[2]Ibid., September 23, 1914, p. 38a.

[3]Ibid., September 23, 1915, p. 56.

> We at this meeting shall try to decide whether it is not now time to install some other system [of church finance] which would be more fruitful financially to the congregation, a system which has long been used among the Americans and which lately has been begun in many of our congregations.[1] (trans.)

The system to which Pastor Moren referred was the Every Member Visitation plan with its basic features of budget, visitation, pledge cards, and weekly payment through an envelope, often times a duplex type. Hence, the plan was frequently called the duplex system.

This plan is American in origin. When it began is not quite clear. T. K. Thompson says the use of weekly offering envelopes began on a limited basis about 1850. Dr. Thompson says he personally has seen numbered envelopes dated in the 1870's.[2]

It was not until in the first decade of this century, however, that the duplex system emerged with its definite features. In a study of stewardship methods employed by the Methodists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians and the Seventh Day Adventists from 1900 to 1941, John E. Lankford shows that there was general dissatisfaction with the means of church financing which were being used.

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[1]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1907-16," January 12, 1914, p. 155.

[2]Letter from T. K. Thompson, Executive Director of the Dept. of Stewardship and Benevolence of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., January 31, 1963.

From an article in the Seventh Day Adventist Yearbook for 1905, this statement is given:

> Means for the support of evangelical work among men should be contributed from love to God and love of souls, not raised by church lotteries, or occasions designed to contribute to the fun-loving, appetite-indulging propensities of the sinner . . . which are a disgrace to the professed Church of Christ; the proportion of one's income required in former dispensations can be no less under the Gospel; that is the same as Abraham . . . paid to Melchizedek . . . when he gave him a tenth of all.[1]

The basic ground of criticism here set forth is biblical and theological. Other groups such as the Methodists were also critical on pragmatic grounds. A search was being made for new means that would eliminate the diversity of financial appeals and raise more money.[2]

Lankford argues that it was really the Laymen's Missionary Movement, organized in 1906, which structured the duplex system. The demand of this Movement for efficiency, economy, and order, together with an emphasis on biblical tithing was significantly formulated at a training conference of the Movement at Lake Geneva in 1911.[3] Between that time and 1914, all the denominations included in Lankford's study adopted the Every Member Visitation

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[1]"Fundamental Principles," p. 190, quoted in John E. Lankford, "Protestant Stewardship and Benevolence, 1900-1941: A Study in Religious Philanthropy" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1962), p. 106.

[2]Ibid., p. 108. [3]Ibid., p. 116.

plan.[1]

With one interesting exception, none of the Swedish Lutheran churches in the Boston area inaugurated the envelope system until 1914. The one exception was Waltham. In 1906, envelopes were used by the congregation to gather funds for missions.[2] No record is given as to the source for this idea but the present pastor, Richard Pearson, believes the whole idea of envelopes may have gone back to the Student Volunteer Movement and especially to its early leader, John R. Mott. As a member of the United Stewardship Council, predecessor to the present Department of Stewardship and Benevolence of the National Council, Dr. Pearson recalls how reference was made in the Council to Mott's early suggestion of putting aside a small amount of money each day in an envelope for the cause of missions.[3] This suggestion was made by Mott early in his career which began in 1888 as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Student Volunteer Movement. It was from this Movement that the Laymen's Missionary

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[1] Ibid., p. 134.

[2] "Kyrkoradets protokollsbok (Minutes of Church Council): 1889-1907."

[3] Interview with Dr. Richard Pearson, pastor of the First Lutheran Church, Waltham, Mass., October 18, 1962.

Movement sprang in 1906.[1]

It may well be that the church in Waltham received this idea as early as 1906 from the Mott-inspired suggestion. This particular congregation, however, did not adopt the duplex system for its total budget until 1917.[2]

According to the records available, eight of the churches in this study adopted the duplex system between the years 1917 and 1927.[3] There is little doubt that it was from the American churches that these Lutheran churches adopted the duplex system of financing. Pastor Jacobson (Cambridge), in urging the congregation to adopt the system, said: "We should use that system which now for more than fifteen years has been proven in the Protestant congregations and is now generally used in the Augustana Synod.[4]

If the duplex system was lay-inspired as it seems to have been, here is another significant instance of lay leadership as an acculturating force upon the Swedish

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[1]William Warren Sweet, The Story of Religion in America (New York: Harper and Brothers), 1939, p. 517.

[2]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1913-28," January 4, 1917, p. 93.

[3]From the study of the congregational records of these congregations.

[4]"Protokollsbok (Minutes): 1915-29," January 10, 1921, pp. 119-20.

Lutheran churches in the Boston vicinity.[1]

In the area of new financial procedures, Augustana and the Boston congregations encountered no disagreement. The pragmatic consideration prevailed. The practical necessity of having to come to terms with the American methods of church finance was the controlling factor. The means employed by the American denominations worked--or at least worked better than the ones used by the Swedish Lutheran churches. Accordingly, these congregations adopted wholly the system they saw operate among the churches of the land.

iii. New Denominational Procedures

In church polity there was significant difference in attitude between the Augustana Synod and the Boston area churches.

By the time the Boston congregations were formed, Augustana had gone through significant acculturation in church polity. Also, Augustana had been forced to face the great difference between the Swedish state church and the American free[2] church pattern several years before the

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[1] Supra, pp. 235-51.

[2] Here, "free" is used to describe the church in America as free from government support and control.

Boston area churches came into being. Finally, the hostility of the "old" immigrants made the policy of the church in Sweden unacceptable to them.

Conrad Bergendoff has written:

> The episcopal system of church government did not find a place in the cultural treasure chests which accompanied the immigrants to America. . . . I wish to point out the origin of the substitute which the pioneers found for the episcopacy and the form of church polity involved in that order.
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> This substitute came from the American churches. Both the congregational and the synodical constitutions are acquired from contacts with Lutheran organizations of longer experience in America. . . . To me there appears little evidence for doubting that such a constitution would never have been adopted at that time if the early Swedish churches had not enjoyed a decade of fellowship with the Synod of Illinois. . . . Like the American colonies which separated from England when they had learned from England how to govern themselves, so the Swedish congregations separated from the Northern Illinois Synod when they had learned how to organize a congregational system independent of the Swedish episcopacy.[1]

The final clause in this statement: "how to organize a congregational system independent of the Swedish episcopacy," is significant for its use of the term "Swedish," not "episcopacy." There was nothing in the confessional position of the Lutheran church to prohibit its adoption of an episcopacy. As a matter of fact, even though the Swedish Lutheran immigrants, like those of

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[1]Conrad Bergendoff, "The Cultural Heritage of the Augustana Synod," The Augustana Quarterly, XIV, No. 4 (October, 1935), 351-52.

other Lutheran countries in Europe, had the barrier of language, in the matter of polity, they had a distinct advantage. Unlike most of the so-called major denominations, the Lutheran church, by virtue of the seventh article of the unaltered Augsburg Confession, was free to choose whatever polity conditions might dictate.[1] These early Swedes were hostile to the state church which they identified with the privileged class.[2] Through the influence of pietism, they had already been attracted toward a non-episcopal type of polity. It is not surprising, therefore, the episcopacy was rejected.

Lars P. Esbjörn, the first ordained pastor among the founders of the Augustana Synod to come to America, relates how he brought with him a "Record Book." In Sweden this was as much a state as a church record because the church kept the vital statistics of the Swedish population both for itself and the state. Esbjörn, however, writes: "I did not dare use this but had to be satisfied in writing their names [of the members in the congregation at Andover, Illinois] upon a list."[3] This book reminded these immigrants of the episcopal form of government which they had come to distrust. Because of this feeling,

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[1] Supra, p. 102. [2] Supra, pp. 26-28.

[3] Quoted in Bergendoff, p. 350.

the Synod was forced to reject episcopacy.[1]

The later immigration from which the greatest number of the members in the Boston area congregations came did not share this same mentality. They did not, perhaps, possess the same religious enthusiasm as did the earlier Swedes who settled in the Midwest: neither did these who joined Swedish Lutheran churches in the Boston area have the same hostility toward the church in Sweden. Also, the pietistic revival had pretty well run its course by the time the Boston Swedes arrived.[2] Hence, this thrust toward a freer type of church polity was no longer a vital force in the thought of the Boston area Lutherans.

That there was a far friendlier relationship between the Boston area churches and the church in Sweden was evident from the early days of the history of these congregations. This is shown in a statement from S. G. Hägglund's report that "in general [our people] do not know much about the Augustana Synod," but "know more about the church in Sweden in which is shown a warm interest."[3]

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[1] Supra, pp. 26-28, 46-52, 267-69.

[2] Janson, pp. 217-18; Stephenson, The Religious Aspect . . . , p. 306.

[3] Förhandlingar New England-konferensens första årsmöte (Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the

As early as 1895, the congregations in the East protested against a practice of polity by the Augustana Synod. Under the influence of pietism Augustana had certain tendencies toward the "pure" church idea. This was evident in its requirement for all persons desiring membership in an Augustana congregation to appear before the church council and then to publicly profess their faith before the congregation. This included even those from the church in Sweden.

The churches in the East thought this practice was discriminatory and in 1895, the following resolution was passed:

> That the Conference submits to Synod the request that, regarding that part of the congregational constitution which establishes the form whereby members are received into the congregation, be changed so that persons certified from the mother church in Sweden may become members in our congregations without having to publicly appear and answer the stated questions, but that instead of answering these questions, they be allowed to subscribe to the constitution after a conference with the pastor.[1] (trans.)

The churchly view of these congregations is also shown in a difference of opinion as to the need of emphasizing the importance of the office of the ministry and

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New England Conference), 1913, p. 11.

[1] Referat . . . New York konferensens tjugufemte årsmöte (Reports . . . Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the New York Conference), pp. 21-22.

the nature of its relation to the congregation. These churches in the East believed the polity of Synod was too loose on this matter. Synod apparently had no uniform service of installation for a pastor into the office of the ministry in a local congregation. The churches in the East believed the office was in need of definition to the congregations. Accordingly, in 1910, the following resolution was passed:

> That Conference requests Synod to formulate an order of service for the installation of pastors in accordance with our churchly procedure so that this ritual may become above all a churchly introduction and benediction with reference to the mutual relationship between a local congregation and her shepherd of souls which coincides with a pastor's entry into a new field of labor.[1] (trans.)

There were occasions when these churches of the East attempted to establish a closer relationship between the Synod and the church in Sweden. In 1912, the conference expressed the desire for some definite rules from Synod whereby pastors of the Swedish Lutheran churches in America could enter the church in Sweden without causing difficult complications. Furthermore, this was considered necessary in order that "a better understanding might be established between the Swedish church and the

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[1] Förhandlingar . . . New York konferensens . . . fyrtionde årsmöte (Proceedings . . . Fortieth Annual Meeting of the New York Conference), pp. 32-33.

Augustana Synod in that matter."[1] The next year, as well as in 1914 and 1917, it was decided to send printed copies of the proceedings of the conference to the church in Sweden.[2]

In 1929, when the bishop and his wife from the Swedish diocese of Skara visited the United States, the New England Conference saw fit to declare that:

> We highly value the visit from the bishop and his wife from the diocese of Skara and in that visit, we see renewed proof of solidarity and understanding between the mother church in Sweden and its daughter church, the Augustana Synod in America.[3] (trans.)

That this "renewed proof of solidarity and understanding" was more the product of wishful thinking than fact was demonstrated the following year when the Synod made plain its continuing suspicion of the episcopacy. In 1916 at a pastoral conference held in Boston, a petition was drawn up for the establishment of the office of bishop. The petition provided for an orderly procedure whereby when two-thirds of the congregations of the

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[1] Förhandlingar . . . New York konferensens fyrtioandra årsmöte samt New England konferensens första lagtima möte (Proceedings . . . Forty-second Annual Meeting of the New York Conference and the First Official Meeting of the New England Conference), p. 34.

[2] Förhandlingar . . . New England konferensen (Proceedings of the New England Conference), 1913, p. 93; 1914, p. 89; 1917, p. 84.

[3] Förhandlingar (Proceedings), p. 32.

conference had approved the establishment of a "bishopric-consistorial" form of church polity with such modification as a Lutheran free-church system might require, the constitution should be changed to establish the bishopric. This would then be followed by submitting this proposal to Synod with the request for the establishment of such in the New England Conference. It was also decided that a fund "not to exceed $60,000 was to be raised by volunteer gifts for the establishment of such."[1] (trans.)

Nothing came of this. Perhaps the congregations themselves were less enthusiastic over the plan than were the pastors. Of greater importance was the attitude of Synod. It was in no mood to adopt the episcopacy as a form of church government.

Early in 1930, the archbishop of Sweden presented a bishop's cross to the president of the Augustana Synod as a recognition of the "apostolic" character of his office. The protest in the Synod's ranks filled the news media of that body. The dispute was finally resolved by accepting the cross but with the clear statement that

> We appreciate with sincere gratitude and brotherly affection the noble motives of the archbishop and bishops of Sweden in bestowing

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[1] Förhandlingar . . . New England konferensens fjärde årsmöte (Proceedings . . . Fourth Annual Meeting of the New England Conference), pp. 99-100.

> upon the president of the Augustana Synod a gold cross, and although we do not hereby adopt any episcopal insignia for the incumbent of the president's office, we acknowledge the pronounced desire for stronger fellowship of our churches and join heartily therein; the Synod accepts the gift as a symbol of unity of purpose between two independent Lutheran churches.[1]

The explicit phrase "two independent Lutheran churches" is a significant difference from the usual reference of the churches in the East to the church in Sweden as "moderkyrkan" (mother church). The phrase of Synod is too clear to allow any other interpretation than the rejection of a mother-daughter relationship between the Augustana Lutheran Synod and the church in Sweden. In 1930 as in 1860, there was still no room "in the cultural treasure chests which accompanied the immigrants to America" for the episcopal system in the mind of the Synod--except in the case of these Swedish Lutheran churches in the East. In the case of this latter group, the desire for the episcopacy was clear.

(1) Reliance Upon Augustana Synod

Yet in spite of the difference in outlook, the Swedish Lutheran immigrants around Boston quickly discovered their need for dependence upon the Augustana Synod

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[1] Lutheran Companion (June 21, 1930), n. p. quoted in Stephenson, The Religious Aspects . . . , pp. 241-42.

for guidance in the government of their affairs. Some of the churches were preceded in organization as congregations by societies.[1] On its fiftieth anniversary, it was said of the Quincy church: "Over fifty years ago a group of Swedish Lutherans living in Quincy organized a Mission Society in order that they might be gathered together for prayer, Bible study and worship."[2] It is further stated that "preachers were invited to come and conduct divine services."[3]

In October, 1890, a Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church Society was formed in North Easton for the purpose of holding worship services under the direction of men from the neighboring Swedish Lutheran church in Brockton which had been a member of the Augustana Synod since 1867. "Pastor Norlin and Deacon J. O. Nelson of Campello [Brockton] conducted regular preaching services."[4] Just a little over a year later, on March 22, 1892, a congregation under the constitution for congregations of the Augustana Synod was organized.[5]

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[1] Supra, p. 186.

[2] "Fiftieth Anniversary: 1889-1939," n.p.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Lebanon Church, "Fiftieth Anniversary: 1892-1942," p. 7.

[5] Ibid.

On August 21, 1892, a Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Society was formed in Cambridge. The purpose of it was stated thus: "Whereas a number of our Swedish citizens thought it desirable to organize and maintain a religious society in this city of Cambridge, a meeting was called for that purpose."[1] In just a little over four months, a church was organized under the polity for congregations according to the Augustana Synod because

> the members of the original society without exception were sincere in their purpose, but they lacked experience in American free-church Lutheranism, and that experience could not be gained in a short period of four months.[2]

The time between the date of organization of the societies and that of the formation of congregations was very short. This brevity of time was not conducive to the development of constitutions. The purpose of the societies, as already noted, was so general that this also prevented the emergence of a specific and stated polity.

More important reasons, however, for the absence of constitutions in these societies were the home mission policy of the Augustana Synod and the need for dependence upon an older group for guidance in polity in the unfamiliar church-state relationship in America.

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[1]Augustana Lutheran Church, "After Fifty Years: 1892-1942," p. 9.

[2]Ibid., p. 11.

(i) Home Mission Policy of Augustana Synod

From the date of its organization, the Augustana Synod expressed a responsibility for the Swedish immigrant groups in America. At the same time the Synod was constituted at Jefferson Prairie, Wisconsin in June, 1860, a central home mission committee of three members including the first president of Synod, T. N. Hasselquist, was formed. Its purpose was to be responsible for unchurched Swedish Lutheran immigrants.[1] To execute this objective, a traveling missionary was employed. Also, pastors from congregations were commissioned to go into nearby communities populated by Swedish immigrants. Funds to carry on this missionary endeavor were received not only from congregations and individuals but also from the fosterlandsstiftelsen (National Evangelical Union).[2]

This central committee continued its work between 1860 and 1870. During this decade the oldest congregation in the Boston area was organized in 1867, the Bethesda

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[1]In the Jubel-Album of 1893 by Swensson and Abrahamson home mission was defined as "that activity which contemplates the ingathering within the fold of our church our scattered countrymen throughout this land" (p. 172).

[2]Arden, Augustana Heritage, pp. 89-90. The influence of the National Evangelical Union has been noted in other areas of the life of these churches. See Supra, pp. 234-35.

congregation in Brockton. It came into existence as a result of the work by home mission pastors of the Augustana Synod. Rev. A. Andreen who was working among Swedish Lutherans in New York City visited Brockton in 1866. The following year, a student working under the supervision of the central committee, J. C. Lagerström, held services for the Swedes in Brockton. He recommended to Hasselquist that a pastor be sent to serve them. It was while Lagerström was there that the group was organized (April 30, 1867) as an Augustana congregation. During this same year C. O. Hultgren, pastor of the Augustana Lutheran congregation in Jamestown, New York, also visited Brockton.[1]

By 1870, it was evident that rising immigration was over-taxing the resources of the central committee to deal adequately with the work of home missions. At its annual convention in Andover, Illinois in June, 1870, the Synod greatly revised its home mission program. In addition to the synodical central committee, each conference[2] now had its own home mission committee consisting of two pastors and two laymen. The duties of these conference

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[1]Lindberg, pp. 5-6.

[2]At that time the Synod was divided into five conferences which incorporated that part of the United States eastward from the Rockies to the Atlantic north of the Mason and Dixon's line.

committees included the raising of funds, encouragement of the establishment of congregations, and the exercise of alert attention to areas where mission work among the Swedish immigrants should be conducted.[1] This decentralization greatly expanded the home mission forces of the Augustana Synod and strengthened its program.

Under this revised approach all the other congregations in this study came into existence. Perhaps the most notable example of the founding of congregations under this new arrangement was the work of C. J. Johansson of Boston. He was sent to America in response to the plea of Hasselquist, president of the Synod from 1860 to 1870. In the latter year, Hasselquist went to Sweden to ask the Evangeliska fosterlands-stiftelsen to send men and money to America.[2]

In 1873, Johansson came to Boston where he organized the Emmanuel congregation in 1874. In succeeding years, he trained laymen to serve as missionaries and with their assistance he was also responsible for the establishment of the congregations at Lowell, Lynn, Norwood, Quincy, and Waltham.[3] In similar fashion other

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[1] Augustana Synodens Protokoll (Minutes of the Augustana Synod): 1870, pp. 37-38.

[2] Supra, pp. 238-39.

[3] Emmanuel Lutheran Church, "Eightieth Anniversary: 1874-1954," p. 3.

pastors and laymen formed the remaining congregations in the Boston area.[1]

Since these congregations were formed under the direction of the Augustana Synod, it followed that the Constitution which Augustana had developed for congregations became the form of polity by which they were governed. Since also the interim between those societies formed previous to the organization of the congregations and the organization of the congregations themselves was short, these Boston area churches had little time to form constitutions of their own. They did not experience the struggle to develop congregational polity as had those congregations of Augustana in its earlier years.[2] What was true of the congregation at Brockton was true of all the Swedish Lutheran churches in the Boston area: "From the very beginning the congregation was united with the Lutheran Augustana Synod."[3]

(ii) Need of the Boston Area Congregations for Support from the Augustana Synod

Unaccustomed as they were to the separation of church and state and the denominational form of church

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[1]The case of North Easton has already been noted. See supra, pp. 274-76.

[2]Supra, pp. 90-91.

[3]"Diamond Jubilee Album of the First Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church of Brockton, Massachusetts: 1867-1942," p. 15.

life in America with its competitive approach, these churches felt the need for the support of an older and established church body. Since by both religious persuasion and ethnic background they were related to the Augustana Synod, it was to this community the Boston area churches turned.

The threat of non-Lutheran or non-Swedish influences was also disturbing to these churches. The church at Brockton is a case in point. Swedish Lutherans had been visited previous to the organization of their congregation by two preachers, A. V. Holmgren and Gustaf Pehrsson. Both men deeply distrubed the congregation.[1] It was out of these unpleasant experiences that one of the laymen wrote to Hasselquist, President of the Augustana Synod as well as of the Synod's college and seminary.

> We desire to have one who with the earnest of the Spirit will gather souls for the kingdom of God, and feed them, but where are we to turn? I have heard it said that Prof. Hasselquist intends to visit New York; if so, we would be pleased if you would pay us a visit and also preach for us. Then we could learn if you have any teacher to suggest for us. I would be pleased to have you as a guest in my humble home.[2]

After its organization this congregation had to face again a disturbing influence, this time from

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[1]Lindberg, p. 5.

[2]Peter Blomstrand, quoted in Lindberg, p. 5.

J. C. Princell who attempted to sever the congregation from the Augustana Synod. On that occasion on the basis of the constitution it had adopted nearly three years before, the congregation declared itself a part of the Augustana Synod.

Several other instances of controversy with non-Lutheran churches and the reliance upon their association with the Augustana Synod and their affirmation of the Lutheran faith have already been noted.[1]

(2) The Development of Augustana Synod Congregational Polity

The Boston area churches formed no constitutions of their own. They adopted without any significant changes the stated polity for local congregations of the Augustana Synod. This, however, raises the question about the development of these constitutions in the history of the Augustana Synod itself. The American influence upon them has already been noted,[2] but the details of their evolution must also be examined.

Between 1848 and 1860 when the Augustana Synod was organized, thirty-six Swedish Lutheran congregations were established.[3] Each of these groups was faced with

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[1] Supra, pp. 120-38. [2] Supra, pp. 267-69.

[3] Supra, pp. 88, 234-35.

the need of some form of government. The animosity which they bore toward the episcopal form of government and the influence of congregational polity[1] led them to adopt the latter type.

Yet, there were numerous variations. Describing this period, a later observer wrote in the Synod's Jubilee Album of 1910:

> Before the idea of Conference or Synod was conceived in the minds of the first settlers, there were congregations, and whatsoever there was of government within them originated with these scattered groups that, one way or another, organized themselves into congregations with perhaps no view of constitutionally uniting the one with the other into a general body. Each group made its own laws and enforced them without any advice or interference whatsoever.[2]

As the number of congregations increased, the need for unity among these congregations of similar religious and ethnic backgrounds grew. Also in order to stand firm in relation to other groups in the diverse religious community of America, it became necessary to form a common congregational constitution to which all

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[1]It was from the American Home Missionary Society, dominated by the Congregational Church, that the early pastors of the Swedish Lutheran churches received essential financial aid in the decade between 1850 and 1860. See Olson, The Augustana Lutheran Church: 1846-1860, pp. 37, 119, 124. A stronger and more direct influence toward a congregational form of polity was the association with the Lutheran body, the Synod of Northern Illinois. See supra, pp. 90-91.

[2]Martin J. Englund, quoted in Mattson, p. 267.

these Swedish Lutherans of early Augustana could subscribe.

The first move was taken in 1857, three years before the organization of the Synod. These Swedish Lutheran congregations had been a part of the Northern Illinois Synod since its beginning in 1851.[1] This Synod was divided into conferences, two of which were called the Mississippi and the Chicago. In these two conferences, the Swedish Lutheran congregations were dominant. During the years before the break from the Northern Illinois Synod in 1860,[2] these two conferences often met together.[3]

It was at such a meeting in 1857 that the first constitution for congregations was presented and adopted. A committee which had been appointed previously to write a constitution had before it six different constitutions from as many Swedish Lutheran congregations.[4]

So satisfactory was the work of the committee that at the organization of the Synod three years later, this constitution was adopted for congregations belonging to Augustana.

The constitution consists of ten articles. It prescribes the name of the congregation (Art. I); the

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[1] Supra, pp. 90-91. [2] Supra, pp. 99-105.

[3] Augustana Historical Society, Selected Documents (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Historical Society, 1944), X, 87-88.

[4] Ibid., p. 118.

teaching of the church based on the Bible together with the three ancient creeds and the unaltered Augsburg Confession (Art. II); the duties of the pastor who is to be called by the congregation (Art. III); the duties of the church officers (deacons and trustees) who are elected by the congregation (Articles IV and V); the requirements of the members of the congregation (Art. VI); the procedures for parish meetings, elections and holding of church property (Articles VII, VIII, and IX); and the dictum that Articles I, II, IX, and X "may never be changed."[1]

Certainly this constitution had nothing of the episcopacy as known in the church of Sweden. These early Swedish Lutherans of the Midwest rejected this form of church polity because of their animosity to the state-church relationship in Sweden.

But neither was it an unqualified congregational polity. The previous decade of life in America had moved these early leaders somewhat away from a policy which placed sole autonomy in the hands of the congregation.

On the one hand, the local congregation had the right to elect its own pastor (subject to the ratification of his credentials by the Synod), choose its own

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[1] Ibid., pp. 120-25.

officers, and hold its own property. On the other hand, as stipulated in Article X, local congregations could not change that part of their name designated as "Swedish Evangelical Lutheran" (Art I); they could not alter the creedal basis of the constitution (Art. II); in case of a division in the congregation, the property remained in the hands of "those who are faithful to this constitution";[1] and the article itself (Art. X) which stipulated these conditions could not be changed.

Thus a synodical rather than a congregational type of polity was adopted for the congregations. In commenting upon this constitution, Eric Norelius wrote:

> It is democratic, safeguarding the rights of self-government, but it also preserves the unity and strength of the body by a centralized authority created by the delegated power from the congregations. While the constitution makes the congregation the constitutive unit of the church, the Synod derives its authority from the congregations that voluntarily join it and delegate to it certain powers and functions. The basis of this unity is the article on the confession of the Church. From this there can be no deviation. By this all congregations must be tested. The synodical form of church government is thus stronger than the congregational. While both make the congregation central, the synodical form as the "congregation of the congregations" through delegated representatives, has greater unity and can more efficiently carry out the larger common tasks of the Church such as education, mission, and benevolences.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 125.

[2] "Våra Författningar," Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana (Our Constitution, The Right Homeland and

Although during the period from 1860 to 1930, two other constitutions were formed, the changes did not affect the basic synodical principle established in the one adopted by the young Synod in 1860. The constitution of 1870 set forth a more detailed procedure for the discipline of members.[1] The other constitution, that of 1907, gave the right of suffrage to women.[2]

Olson writes of the polity for congregations established at the beginning of the Synod's history: "Its essential features have remained unchanged through the years."[3] The early founders of the Synod apparently did their work very well.[4]

Augustana), January 1870, p. 6, quoted in Olson, The Augustana Lutheran Church in America: 1846-1860, pp. 330-31.

[1]See supra, pp. 209-14 which is according to the constitution of 1870. The constitution of 1860 simply states that a member who is delinquent and if after sufficient warning, he fails to correct himself, "his name shall be stricken out." Augustana Historical Society, p. 124.

[2]Norelius, De Svenska lutherska församlingarnas . . . (The Swedish Lutheran Congregations), p. 247.

[3]The Augustana Lutheran Church in America: 1846-1860, p. 329.

[4]During the existence of the Augustana Synod from 1860 to 1963, a fourth constitution was adopted in 1939. Yet, even this document is unchanged in the synodical principle and contains only two more articles than the first one. One additional article deals with a more precise definition of the relation of the congregation to Synod and conference; the other treats of the congregation's seal.

The significance of this relation on the basis of polity between the Boston area churches and the Augustana Synod is the degree of acculturation it represents. As has already been noted,[1] the Synod of Northern Illinois was the great American influence upon the Midwestern Swedes in the making of the latter's congregational constitution. When the churches in the Boston area adopted Augustana's system of polity, over a hundred years of acculturation came to bear upon the newer immigrants.[2]

2. The Rate of Acculturation

It has been assumed that the rate of acculturation was slower among the Augustana churches in New England than in the rest of the Synod. P. O. Bersell was simply expressing this general viewpoint.[3]

This, however, is not the case. This assumption is really a confusion of date with rate. Using as an index the dates when the various conferences of the Synod began printing their minutes in the English language, it

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[1] Supra, pp. 99-109, 267-69.

[2] Supra, pp. 99-105. The Northern Illinois Synod which influenced Augustana polity was a part of the General Synod. The latter was significantly shaped by the Pennsylvania Ministerium which had been in existence since 1748. This Ministerium together with several other Lutheran groups mainly of German background were brought together in the General Synod in 1820.

[3] Supra, pp. 168-70.

is true that the date for the New England Conference is later than that for any other conference in the United States. Between the time the first of these printed their entire minutes in English (1921) and the New England Conference did likewise was a period of eleven years (1932).

Yet, the rate of acculturation for the Boston area churches was just as rapid, possibly more so. The period of time between the organization of the Augustana Synod's first congregation (1848) and that of the first Boston area congregation (1867) was nineteen years. A comparison of these two periods, the one of eleven years and the other of nineteen, indicates the rate of acculturation was certainly no slower in New England than in the rest of the Synod.

If this is so, then the strength of the forces of acculturation can be seen all the more. Here in the Boston area was a group of congregations intensely determined to hold on to their Swedish heritage. They possessed the will to do so; they cherished their Swedish culture and its vehicle, language; and, they admired the episcopal form of church polity as they had known it in Sweden.

But the combined forces of the dominant Anglo-American society with its mobility and pluralism, their minority status in a large urban and industrial center, and, most interestingly, the degree of acculturation brought to

bear upon them through their fellow Lutherans upon whom they had to depend were too strong. Although in 1930 it could be seen that they had enjoyed some measure of success in this endeavor to preserve their Swedish background, already the evidence was clear that before long, these congregations would no longer be recognized as Swedish but as American communions of the Christian faith. This had taken place in two generations in spite of the determination of these Swedish Lutherans to have it otherwise.

In writing of a group of Swedish immigrants in the St. Croix Valley in Minnesota, Vilhelm Moberg writes: "They changed the land--and the United States of North America changed them."[1] There is no question that these hardy midwestern Swedes greatly changed the landscape from wild prairies to settled farmsteads gravitating from town and cities with their churches, schools, and other community institutions.

Not all of which Moberg writes can be said of the Boston Swedes. Boston was already a well settled area. There is little evidence that the Swedes changed the landscape very much. But the second observation which Moberg makes of the St. Crox Valley Swedes applies equally to those of the Swedish Lutheran churches around Boston.

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[1] Sista brevet till Sverige (The Last Letter to Sweden) (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1959), p. 6.

By 1930, in spite of their resistance, it was evident that "the United States of North America [had] changed them"--and in the years just ahead, the process of acculturation would be complete.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this study of the acculturation of the Swedish Lutheran congregations in the Boston area, it has been shown that in many of the changes which took place in the process, significant differences existed between them and the older and larger national body to which they belonged. The Augustana Synod came out of a different background. The adverse political, social, economic, and religious conditions which helped drive out so many of the earlier immigrants, among whom were the founders of Augustana, had been greatly modified by the time the later group left from which came the founders and the members of the Boston congregation. Whereas the earlier Swedes came with a sense of disappointment and even a lack of love for their native land, the Boston Swedes retained a deeper sense of loyalty to their homeland.

Also, it has been observed in this study that on the one hand the Swedes who made up the Augustana Synod in its early and determinative years were rural in background and interest. They were able to retain this outlook because of the easily available land in the

midwestern United States through the Homestead Law and purchase of land at low prices from the railroads. This fact in addition to the difficulty in travel that would have been encountered in returning to Sweden as well as the greater geographic distance in comparison with the Boston Swedes made their separation from Sweden more complete and final. The intense hardship that many of these had experienced in coming across the ocean and overland to the midwest made one crossing of the Atlantic enough. Also, these earlier immigrants had generally come over as families and colonies. Their establishment of homes at the same time made permanent their residence in America.

By contrast, the later group of Swedes who made up the congregations in the Boston vicinity had been shaped by the resurgence of Swedish national life the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Also, they were urban in background and sought to settle in the industrial centers such as Boston rather than the farm lands farther west. They came, for the most part, as individuals rather than families and were, therefore, freer both to come to America and to return to Sweden if their expectations were not sufficiently fulfilled in America. As has been noted, many of them did go back to their native land. Whereas the attachment of the earlier group of immigrants which began and shaped the spirit of Augustana was stronger

toward America, by contrast, the Boston Swedes had a stronger love for Sweden and its culture.

These facts--the difference in time of coming to America, the different conditions in Sweden out of which each of these two groups came, the difference in attitudes toward both Sweden and America which were largely the product of the different historical conditions out of which the two groups came, and the different conditions which each group met in Amer[illegible]--were accompanied by one other important factor: the nature of the relationship between the Augustana Synod and these Boston area congregations.

Perhaps the most important characteristic of this relation was the difference in time which the Augustana Synod and the Boston congregations had been in America. There had been congregations of the Augustana Synod in the United States for almost two decades before the first one in New England was formed. Even as late as 1890, when the Augustana Synod had become a strong and active group, there were only five Augustana churches in the metropolitan Boston area.

The importance of this difference in time is in the greater degree of acculturation which the Augustana Synod had undergone by the time the Boston area congregations came into being. This means that since these

latter churches depended upon the Augustana Synod, particularly in polity, that the Boston area congregations were faced with two factors different from the Augustana Synod.

In the first place, whereas the Augustana Synod was confronted by two alien communities--American society and American Protestantism--the Boston area churches were faced in addition to these two, a third alien community, the Augustana Synod, already considerably Americanized.

The second factor grows out of the first. While it is true there was much in common between Augustana and its Boston churches, at the same time, Augustana had already gone through a large degree of acculturation. Hence, this whole experience was brought to bear, "ready-made" upon the Boston churches. In this sense, Augustana, too, was alien. This factor became an important force in the process of acculturation for these congregations in the vicinity of Boston.

1. What the Boston Swedish Lutheran Congregations Retained

It has been shown that in three areas of their background between 1867 and 1930, with varying degrees of success, the Boston Swedish Lutheran congregations retained their heritage.

i. The Churchly View

They were most successful in preserving the churchly view as over against the sectarian in the Troeltschian sense. More specifically, especially in architecture, they defined this churchly outlook as they had known it in Sweden.

In theology, they accepted the description of the church according to the seventh article of the Augsburg Confession which defines the church as where the Word of God is preached and the sacraments are administered. The emphasis was upon the sacramental and the objective as Troeltsch characterized the churchly as over against the sectarian subjective and personal view of the Christian faith. At this point, there was no essential conflict with Augustana.

In the areas of the form of worship and of architecture, the Boston Swedes also stressed the churchly view and took what they believed was churchly from the church in Sweden. Both in the order of worship and especially in architecture, they were critical of the Augustana Synod. The Boston area congregations detected influences of American denominationalism upon Augustana and regarded Augustana's adoption of such as non-churchly. Their

criterion was that since these changes in worship form and architecture represented differences from the church in Sweden, Augustana had departed from the churchly point of view.

ii. View of Mission

With almost equal success, these congregations preserved their view of mission which was to minister solely to Swedish Lutheran immigrants. Here, too, the churchly view was present in the sense that these congregations believed their responsibility to be to a total people as defined ethnically. In Sweden, they had known the church to be for the whole people. The geographic and the ethnic coincided there. In America, only the ethnic designation could be employed. Their view of mission was from the beginning threatened by American mobility and pluralism. Yet, with minor exceptions in the 1920's, they preserved their view of mission until 1930.

iii. The Swedish Language

Of the three aspects of their heritage which they preserved, these Swedish Lutheran congregations were least successful in the preservation of their language. Yet, they succeeded sufficiently in the employment of the Swedish tongue in important areas of their church life so

that in 1930 it must be said they had preserved this cultural heritage. In the great majority of instances, the congregational records were still kept in Swedish; all the churches still held many of their worship services in that language; and in both Sunday School and auxiliaries where the older people were associated, Swedish was retained later than in any of the other churches of the Augustana Synod in the United States (Augustana churches in Canada kept the Swedish language just as long as did New England).

2. What the Boston Swedish Lutheran Congregations Surrendered

The mobility and pluralism of the surrounding Anglo-American society forced partial surrender in one area and complete surrender in another of the heritage of these immigrants.

i. Significant Areas for the Employment of the Swedish Language

Although the Swedish language was still retained in important phases of their work, it had also, by 1930, been surrendered in other spheres of the life of these congregations. This was especially true of the organizations for young people. Also, English was being used increasingly in the worship life and the Sunday Schools.

Swedish was still prominent, but leaders of the congregations were acknowledging the trend toward the language of America.

ii. The Practice of Discipline

In the early years, these congregations, as did the national body of Augustana, imposed a congregational discipline upon their members. Very early, however, the difficulties to practice church discipline in the context of American mobility and pluralism became apparent. For both Augustana and the Boston area churches, this aspect of their heritage had virtually ceased by the beginning of World War I.

3. What the Boston Swedish Lutheran Congregations Acquired

By 1930, the Boston area congregations had acquired important viewpoints and practices in three important spheres.

i. Greater Reliance on Lay Leadership

It has been shown that these congregations were not unaware of the employment of lay leadership in church life in Sweden. Also, the scarcity of pastors and the large number of Swedish immigrants to be served demanded the use of laymen.

Yet, it was with reluctance these congregations availed themselves of the services of the laity. Their church view placed a high value on the office of the ministry. Possibly also, their suspicion of lay leadership in the churches was heightened by their low opinion of the American denominations (with the exception of the Episcopalians) where laymen played an important part in the activity of the churches.

Although they placed restrictions upon the kinds of service the laity could render, these congregations were forced to accept a large measure of lay leadership. They were more like the American churches in this respect than they perhaps cared to admit. While they did suggest to the Augustana Synod certain limits that should be placed on lay service, there was no great difference on this point between the two bodies. Both were reluctant to use lay leadership and both placed limitations on laymen serving in the churches; yet both Augustana and the Boston Lutherans had to adopt the American practice of lay leadership in the life of the congregations.

ii. New Financial Procedures

This study has also revealed that for the financial support of their work, these congregations, completely

shut off from state support such as they had known in Sweden, had to depend upon the American patterns of church finance. As American churches changed from money-raising methods such as suppers and bazaars, to more modern ways of stewardship, so these congregations changed their methods. Here, there was no conflict between these congregations and Augustana.

iii. New Denominational Procedures

In the instance of church polity, there was a significant difference between Augustana and these Boston Lutherans.

From the beginning, the Augustana Synod had a deep suspicion of the episcopal form of church government. Its members associated this form of polity with the church in Sweden for which they had little affection.

Not so with the Boston Lutherans. As has been shown, they were actually in favor of establishing a bishopric in New England. Consistently they showed a deep admiration for the church in Sweden.

Yet, the forces of acculturation were too strong and, in this case, it was the Augustana Synod that pressed them into a non-episcopal form of church polity. Other forces such as a basically common history, a common heritage, and a common language drew these Boston congregations

into a dependent relationship upon Augustana. This in turn necessitated the adoption of a synodical type of church government. Here were brought to bear forces of acculturation begun among their fellow Swedish Lutherans (Augustana Synod) two decades before the first congregation of the Boston area was founded.

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ABSTRACT

ABSTRACT

This is a study of acculturation in the eighteen Augustana Synod congregations of the Boston area between 1867 and 1930. The Augustana Synod was the national body of Lutheran churches founded and maintained for a ministry to Swedish Lutheran immigrants.

The study not only traces the process of acculturation but marshals evidence to show that the process in terms of conditions and responses was different for the Boston group from the rest of the Synod. Such conditions as applicable to the Boston immigrants were: urban rather than rural background; difference in the political, social, economic, and religious situation in Sweden at the time of their emigration; and the closing of the American frontier and American urbanization (since most of these immigrants came after 1890).

The earlier Swedes who constituted and shaped the dominant spirit of Augustana came to America to escape from conditions in Sweden which they believed held little hope for them. In many instances, there was deep criticism of Sweden in the minds of these early immigrants and this spirit, often one of suspicion, characterized Augustana in general throughout this period.

The exception to this attitude of Augustana was the New England Conference of the Augustana Synod of which the Boston congregations were a part. Political and social reform, an awakening of Swedish self-consciousness through the revival of its cultural life, the passing of the pietistic revival, and an awakening of life within the church of Sweden, all tended to engender a deeper love for their native land than was the case in the rest of Augustana.

This study deals with three aspects of the process of acculturation: (1) what they preserved out of their Swedish background, (2) what they surrendered, and (3) what they acquired from the surrounding society.

With regard to the first aspect, they quite successfully retained a churchly view (in the Troeltschian sense) as they had known it in the church of Sweden. This was primarily so in their views and practices of worship, the sacraments, and architecture and in their interpretation of the Christian life which was defined in terms of faithfulness to the hearing of the word of God and regular participation in the Lord's Supper. They also retained a view of mission which consisted in preserving the faith unchanged and for Swedes only rather than in propagating it among Americans. In such significant areas as worship, congregational minutes, and in those functions which ministered to the older people, the Swedish language was

also retained. The Boston congregations were critical of Augustana Synod's apparent lack of concern for the preservation of the churchly view and the Swedish language.

With respect to the second aspect, they surrendered the Swedish language in their work among youth and, for the most part, in the Sunday School. They completely surrendered the practice of discipline.

Finally, from American society, they acquired new denominational procedures, new ways of financing their work, and reliance upon lay leadership.

In the method of finance, little difference existed between the Boston congregations and Augustana. Not so in the matter of denominational procedures and lay leadership. The difference was most obvious in regard to denominational procedures. Augustana throughout this period was anti-episcopal; the Boston churches, on the other hand, actually supported a proposal that an episcopacy be established in New England. In the matter of lay leadership, although Augustana was suspicious of it, the Boston churches were even more so.

The Boston congregations represented a group that was determined to recreate in America all the features of the Swedish Lutheran Church. The dominant Anglo-American culture, however, with its mobility and pluralism was so strong as to frustrate their plans. Even Augustana itself

exerted an acculturating force upon these Boston churches. Although by 1930, these churches were acculturated to a lesser degree than any other part of Augustana, the rate of acculturation was just as rapid if one takes into account that these congregations in and around Boston came to America about two decades later than was the case with the midwestern Swedes of Augustana.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

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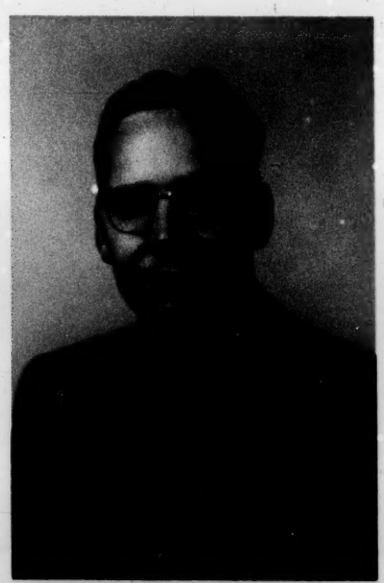
Emmet Elvin Eklund, the son of Elvin Ebenezer and Anna Adelia Johnson Eklund was born May 1, 1917 at Smolan, Kansas. He was educated in the Smolan rural elementary and secondary schools. In 1941, he was graduated from Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kansas with an A.B. degree and in 1945, he was awarded the B.D. degree from Augustana Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Illinois.

Ordained on a call from the First Lutheran Church, Jamestown, New York, he served as associate pastor from

July, 1945 until September, 1947. From September, 1947 until June, 1956, he served first as assistant professor in the department of Christianity and philosophy and then as associate professor as well as vice-president of his alma mater, Bethany College.

In the fall of 1956, he continued his studies at the University of Chicago and was awarded the M.A. degree in American Church history in March, 1958.

In February, 1958, he became the pastor of the St. Paul Evangelical Lutheran Church, Arlington, Massachusetts and is currently in this position.

On June 1, 1945, he was married to Marion Elaine Lorimer. He is the father of two children, Kent, age 17 and Joan, age 15.